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England

in the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

PART I.

STARKEY'S LIFE AND LETTERS.

WITH AN APPENDIX, GIVING AN EXTRACT FROM

SIR WILLIAM FORREST'S

Pleasant Poesye of Princelie Practise,
1548.

EDITED BY

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AUTHOR OF "TUSSER'S FIVE HUNDRED POINTES OF GOOD HUSBANDRIE."

LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY,
BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.

MDCCCLXXVIII.

700

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no. 32, 12

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13/5/90

Extra Series,

NO. XXXII.

LUNGAY : CLAY AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS.

STARKEY'S LIFE AND LETTERS.

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BEYOND what we can glean from a very few public documents and his own statements in his letter to Cromwell, we know little of the life of Thomas Starkey. Practically, the history of his career is little more than the history of the negotiations between Henry VIII. and Reginald Pole with reference to the support which the king hoped to receive from the latter on the two important questions of the legality of his marriage with Queen Katharine, his brother's widow, and the supremacy of the Pope in England. For nearly two years did these negotiations last, and during these two years Starkey was the sole medium of intercommunication. At the time of their commencement he had only lately been appointed chaplain to the king, and with their failure he disappeared from public life, retiring in all probability to the church living which had in December 1536 been bestowed on him, and, as he tells us, utilizing his leisure moments in the composition of his *Dialogue* and other works.

§ 1. Of Starkey's birth and family we know nothing for certain. He

was in all probability descended from a family of high standing and considerable local influence in Cheshire.¹ Of this family we find four distinct branches, but to which of these Thomas Starkey belonged I am unable satisfactorily to ascertain. The four branches were, (1) the Starkeys of Stretton; (2) of Barnton (Cheshire) and Huntroyde (Lancashire); (3) of Olton or Oulton; and (4) of Wrenbury.

Thomas Starkey may have been brother to Laurence Starkey (mentioned below), who at that time was the representative of the *second* branch of the family; but he certainly could not have been son, since from an *Inquis! post mort.* we find that the latter's eldest son was only 14 years of age in 1547, when his father died.²

It is also certain that he was not the son nor the brother of the Hugh Starkey, the representative of the *third* branch, also mentioned below, for the latter at his death, in 1555, left but one son (illegitimate), Oliver, who afterwards became Grand Prior of the Knights of Malta;³ and his only brother James was buried beside him in Over Church.⁴

Neither did Starkey belong to the *fourth* branch, for that branch was at the time represented by another Thomas, who was 30 years of age in 1528.⁵

The family of Starkey dates back to an early period of English history, for we find that in the reign of King John, Roger Fitz-Alured granted the Manor of Stretton (Cheshire) to Richard Starkey and his heirs, "to hold as freely as any of the said Richard's ancestors ever held the same, for the service of the tenth part of a knight's fee. And Sir Geoffrey de Warburton released unto Thomas Starkey of Stretton, and to his heirs, all his claim in *Villa de Stretton, ceu in aliqua Parcella eiusdem, ut de Wardis, Maritagiis, Releviis, Exaetis, Homagiis, aut Servitiis, quæ predictus Thomas aut Antecessores sui mihi, seu Antecessoribus meis, facere solebant: Datum* 4 die Aprilis, 5 Rich. II. (1382). Yet, notwithstanding, the said

¹ But there was another or a branch of the same family in Kent, and as Starkey held a living near Deal, as mentioned below, it is just possible he may have belonged to this branch.

² See Ormerod, *Hist. of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, 1819, I. 474.

³ Ormerod, II. 103, 104.

⁴ Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, Vol. II. pt. ii. p. 719.

⁵ Ormerod, III. 205.

Thomas and his heirs shall pay yearly to the said Sir Geffrey and his heirs one pair of white gloves on Easter-day for all service.”¹

Sir Humphrey Starky, Kt, who belonged to this branch, was Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, appointed 15 June, 1 Edward V., and held the office for some years.²

In 1509 we find an order for Hugh Starkey to be one of the king's sergeants-at-arms,³ and we frequently meet with his name afterwards in the State Papers. Thus, on the 7th January, 1514, we find a lease granted to Hugh Sterkeye, sewer of the Chamber, for 41 years of the Manor of Frodesham, Cheshire, from Michaelmas, 4th Henry VIII., at an annual rent of £48;⁴ and on 22nd January, 1517, the king granted to the same Hugh Starky the forfeited possessions of Roger Wodehowse in Chester, Salop, or elsewhere, of the annual value of £8, lately held by William Smyth from Henry VII., at the rent of one red rose payable at Midsummer. He died in 1555, and was buried in Over Church, Cheshire, which he had restored in 1543, and in the south aisle of which is a window to his memory with his portrait in armour.⁵

A John Sterkey is mentioned amongst the royal officers of the “Hall” as Surveyor.⁶

The name of Laurence Starkey occurs very frequently in the State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII., and he appears to have been a person of some considerable importance. He was trustee of the lands of Edward Stanley, Lord Montegle;⁷ in correspondence with Cromwell and Wolsey; and, as he states in one letter, High Sheriff of the County of Lancashire for the year 1524.⁸

On 18th June, 1522, we find a petition presented from the Convent of St Leonard's, Stratford-at-the-Bowe, London diocese, for assent to the election of Eleanor Sterkey, nun, as prioress, *vice* Helen Hillard,

¹ *Historical Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland*, collected by Sir Peter Leycester, Bart., London, 1673, pp. 353, 354.

² Ormerod, II. 105.

³ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, ed. Brewer, I. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.* I. 719; see also II. pt. ii, p. 1483.

⁵ Ormerod, *Hist. of Chester*, II. 103.

⁶ *Letters and Papers, &c.*, II. 1549.

⁷ *Ibid.* IV. pt. iii. p. 2598.

⁸ *Ibid.* IV. pt. i. p. 111.

deceased;¹ and on the 28th of the same month a *significavit* from William Haryngton, LL.D., Canon and Residentiary of St Paul's, and official of the spirituality of the see of London for William, Archbishop of Canterbury, of his confirmation of Eleanor Starkey as prioress of the Benedictine Priory of St Leonard's, and praying for restitution of the temporalities.² This is followed on the 28th July by a writ to the Escheator of the Counties of Essex and Herts for the restitution of the temporalities on the election of Eleanor Sterkey.³

On the 12th June, 1517, an annuity of 10 marks was granted to Thomas Starke out of the lordship of Montgomery, Kery, and Kidyowyn, parcel of the earldom of March, his patent of the 6th February, 4th Henry VII., being invalid by the act of resumption; and on the same date we find a petition from this same person, described as of Wrenburye, Cheshire, to Sir John Dauncy and Robert Blagg, a Baron of the Court of Exchequer, stating that Henry VII. had for his services "at his first entry into this his realm" granted him an annuity of 10 marks out of the earldom of Marche at Montgomerye, as appears by the king's confirmation of the grant, but that Sir Richard Herberd, the receiver there, owed the petitioner £22 13s. 4d. arrearages, and refused to pay, although ordered to do so by Sir J. Dauncy and Robert Blagg. The petitioner, therefore, prayed them to summon Herberd before them, and compel him to pay the said arrearages.⁴

There is also a second petition from the same to the same, stating that Sir Richard Herberd did not appear before them, either at Hilary term or on the octaves of St Trinity last, though commanded to by their privy seals, and praying for a privy seal of proclamation, ordering Herbert to appear on pain of his allegiance.

Probably it is this same Thomas Starkey whom we find set down for an annuity of £26 13s. 4d. amongst the king's "officers in Wales" in the year 1526.⁵

When Thomas Starkey, the author of the *Dialogue*, was born we have no information, but as he was, in all probability, some years

¹ *Letters and Papers*, &c., III. p. 986, No. 2331.

² *Ibid.* p. 997, No. 2353.

³ *Ibid.* p. 1015, No. 3407.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. II. pt. ii. p. 1072.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. IV. pt. i. p. 873.

older than his friend and fellow-traveller Reginald Pole, who was born in 1500, we shall not be far wrong in assigning as the approximate date of his birth the beginning of the last decade of the 15th century.

The services of the family from which I assume him to be descended gave him an introduction to society, but it is only from his letters that we can gain any information as to the manner in which his earlier years were passed. His own words, in his letter to Cromwell asking to be nominated to some appointment in the king's service, seem to imply that he was educated at Oxford, but his name does not occur in *Anthony a Wood*. If the will mentioned below be Starkey's, he probably was educated at Magdalen College.

In company with Reginald Pole he travelled on the Continent, where, especially in Italy, he appears to have made numerous friends, amongst the learned men of the time, with whom he kept up a constant correspondence till the close of his life. In the Cott. MSS., Nero B. VI. and VII., are numerous letters addressed to him in Latin and Italian from friends thus made. He had evidently profited by his studies, and was welcomed and esteemed accordingly by the *savants* of Italy. Of the dates of his departure from and return to England we know nothing, but he had certainly returned, as will be seen below, before the end of 1522.

§ 2. The first certain mention of Starkey in any public document which I have been able to discover is contained in a letter from Wolsey to the University of Oxford, dated 21st May, 1522, in which he recommends for proctors *Thomas Starke* and Lawrence Barbar.¹

On the 9th October following the University reply to this letter, stating that they have complied with the request for the appointment of Lawrence Barbar and *Thomas Starke* as proctors, and beg that they may retain for a time their usual form of electing proctors, at least until Wolsey has sufficient leisure for making more suitable arrangements for the University. They acknowledge their great obligations to his bounty, and add that if by his influence their

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII.*, ed. Brewer, Vol. III. pt. ii. p. 960.

University may be exempted from contributing to the loan¹ their obligations will be the greater.²

§ 3. On the 31st July, 1530, Starkey was presented by Archbishop Warham to the living of Great Mongeham, diocese of Canterbury, "per resignationem Magistri Thome Lupsett, A.M., ultimi Incumbentis ibidem vacantem."³ This living he held till his death.

Great Mongeham is in the hundred of Cornilo, lathe of St. Augustine, and two miles from Deal. The church was dedicated to St Martin, and the living, which is stated to have been of the annual value of £20 1s. 6d., was in the gift of the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁴

§ 4. From this time we do not hear anything of Starkey till some time towards the close of 1534, when we find him writing to Cromwell, with whom he was already acquainted probably through Cardinal Wolsey, asking him to use his influence to procure for him some

¹ For the war.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. III, pt. 2.

³ *Registers of Canterbury Diocese* (preserved in the Lambeth Palace Library), Archbishop Warham, leaf 402, back.

⁴ By the kindness of Col. Chester I have been furnished with a copy of the will (recorded in Book "Pynnyng," at folio 6) of a certain *Thomas Starkey*, Clerk, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, on the 2nd May, 1544, but dated 25th August, 1538, which is, as nearly as we can judge, exactly the date of Starkey's death. In this will the testator desires to be buried in the "Chauncell of Northe Petherton at the discretion of the curat there," and leaves "towards the reparation of the Churche of North Petherton, vis." The will proceeds—"Item I geue to my father Thomas Starkey, in parte of recompense of his greate coste and chargies vppon my bringing vpp, furthring me in good lernyng, xli^{li}. Item I geve to the veray honnerable and my singulier good lorde, my lorde Montague, foure pounds to bie hym a hagg." To his brother, "John Starkey," he leaves his "best gowne," and all his books he bequeaths to a Dr Wotton, who is "to take certeyne to his children as he shall thinke profitable to farther theyme in tyme to come to theire lernyng," and the rest, some are to go to "the furnysshying of the library of Magdalen College," and some to be given to poor scholars. To the family of the Vicar of North Petherton he bequeaths "for theire diligent payne and labours by nighte and day taken abowte me in myne infirmitie and sickness, foure markes of lawfull money of England," from which it would seem that the testator had been, and was then, residing at North Petherton, by the vicar of which place, Sir John Bulen, the will is witnessed. If this be the will of our author, it appears tolerably certain that he was the son of the Thomas Starkey already (p. vi.) mentioned as in receipt of a pension for his services to Henry VII. It is difficult to see what connection Starkey had with North Petherton, or why the will executed in August, 1538, should not have been proved till 1544.

appointment in the king's service, and giving a short sketch of his life and studies.

We are enabled to fix the date of this letter with tolerable certainty by Starkey's own words in his first letter to Pole, and his dedication of his *Dialogue* to Henry VIII. (printed below), in which he says :—"forasmuch as hyt pleyssyd your hyghnes, *schortly aftur I was admyttyd to your gracys seruyce*, to commytt vnto me the wrytyng of your commandment and request to mastur Raynold Pole in the most weyghty cause, wych of many yerys hath byn temptyd in thys your Reame."

The following is his letter to Cromwell :—

(*Harl. 283, leaf 129.*)

Syr, the grete gentylnes of you so manyfestely schowyd toward me, wythe the contynuanee of such a beneuolent mynd in setting forward my purpos, gyuyth me yet a lytyl more boldnes to trowbul you wyth the redyng of thys scrole, besechyng you of your patyence therin, whyle I a lytyl more at large schow to you my mynd & purpos, the wyche I had thought to haue downe thes days past presently before you, yf I myght haue found you at a conuenient leysor to the heryng of the same, for gladly I wold that you schold a lytyl more playnly know wyth what hart & mynd I wold serue the kyng wythal. And fyrst, for as much that you may perauenture juge, that I, mouyd only by the hygh authoryte wherin hyt hathe pleyd the kyngys hyghnes most worthyly to set you, so much desyre by your special preferment to be set forward to the kyngys seruyce now at thys tyme, I schal besech you of your gentylnes not to take me so, for, albe-hyt that by your authoryte I wyl not deny I am somewhat mouyd in dede, yet certaynly thys to you I wyl affyrme, yf ther were not other causys joynyd therto wych more scharpely styr and pryke my mynd then dothe that, I, beyng to you so vnknownen as I am, wold neuer haue temptyd nor enterprysyd such a purpos wyth you : for yf I had not found at such tyme as I fyrst salutyd you at home, a synguler humanyte & gentylnes in you, and yf I had not much herd of your gudnes in setting forward at honest purposys, ye and yf I had not seen & perceyuyd your excellent wysedome & your other vertues, most worthy of al hygh authoryte, I thynke I had neuer conceyuyd thys purpos, I thynke I had neuer set my selfe in thys case, wherein my special trust ys more to be to you bounden than in the rest of my lyfe wyth any seruyce I can deserue ; for of thys I assure you I am not of so vyle & base of stomake as for to optayne any benefyte wordly, to desyre to be bounden to any man whome I can not wyth hart and mynd reuerently both honoure & loue. Wherfor of thys I schal besech you to be

persuadyd euer surely to haue in me such a hart and stomake as ys conuenient to be in hym, who to you of al other schal be most bounden. And now, Syr, to the intent that you may somewhat perceyue such pore qualytes as be in me, and so therapon wyth your beneuolent mynd you may set forward somewhat better my purpos, I schal breuely schowe vnto you the ordur, processe, & end of al my studys. Fyrst, here in oxforth a grete parte of my youthe I occupyd my selfe in the study of phylosophy, joynyng therto the knolege of both tongys bothe latyn & greke, and so aftur passyd ouer in to Italy, whereas I so delytyd in the contemplacyon of natural knolege—wherin the most parte of men lettryd ther occupye themselfys—that many tymys I was purposed to haue spend the rest of my lyfe holly therin, tyl at the last, mouyd by chrystyan charyte, phylosophy set apart, I applyd my selfe to the redyng of holy scrypture, jugyng al other secrete knolege not applyd to some vse & profyt of other to be but as a vanyte. wherfor in the study of holy letturys certayn yerys I spent, aftur the wyche, by-cause my purpos then was to lyue in a polytyke lyfe, I set my selfe now thes last yerys past to the knolege of the cyuyle Law, that I myght therby make a more stabyl and sure jugement of the polytyke ordur & custumys vsyd amonge vs here in our cuntrye. aftur thys maner In dyuerse kyndys of studys I haue occupyd my selfe, euer hauyng in mynd thys end & purpos at the last here in thys commynalty where I am brought forth & borne to employ them to some vse; and though in them I haue not most profytyd, yet dylygence & wyl hathe not lakkyd therto: but what so euer hyt ys that I haue by the gudeness of god attaynyd vn-to I schal most gladly, aftur your jugement & aduyse, apply hyt to the seruyce of our prynce, and therby rekun my selfe to attayne a grete parte of my felycyte. Wherfor I besech you, syr, as you of your only gudness haue begun, so at your plesure & conuenient lesur to helpe forward thys my purpos, and then schal I be to you more bounden then I am yet to any mortal man lyuynge.

Your assuryd seruant
Thomas Starkey.

Endorsed

to Mr Secretary Cromwell touching the course of hys Lyffe, studyes and Travilles. [End of 1534.]

§ 5. In accordance with Starkey's request, Cromwell appears to have used his influence with the king, for we find him in February, 1535, holding the post of chaplain to Henry, who, it would seem, soon entertained a high opinion of him, since within a few months of his appointment he was intrusted with the delicate commission of ascertaining the views of Reginald Pole on the two questions of the legality of the king's marriage with Queen Katherine and of the supremacy of the Pope.

It would be out of place here to give any lengthened account of the events which led to this. It will be sufficient to recall the fact that the Pope, Clement VII., had, on the 23rd of March, 1534, in accordance with the decision of a consistory of cardinals, declared Henry's marriage with Katherine valid and indissoluble; while the parliament in England, on the other side, pronounced the marriage with Anne Boleyn lawful, and confirmed Henry's title of supreme head of the English Church, prohibiting every kind of payment to the Pope, and vesting in the king alone the right of appointing to all bishoprics, and of deciding in all ecclesiastical causes.¹

§ 6. Previously to the introduction of the bills on the subject into parliament, the whole question had been considered by the Privy Council in 1533, when nineteen articles were drawn up,² which were embodied in certain resolutions of the Council on the 2nd December, the first of which runs as follows :—

“Acta in Concil[i]o Domini Regis, 2ndo Decembr.

“First. That the conclusions mentioned in the first article of this book, with the circumstances thereof, be committed to Mr Dean [Dr Sampson, Dean of the King's Chapel] and the almoner [Dr Fox] and other Doctors; to search their books and to make an answer again thereupon to the Lords of the Council by Fryday and Saturday next.”³

Dr Sampson accordingly wrote and published a treatise on the question of the supremacy with the following title :—

“Richardi Sampsonis, Regii Sacelli Decani, oratio; qua docet, hortatur, admonet omnes, potissimum Anglos, regię dignitati cum primis ut obediant, quia uerbum Dei præcipit: Episcopo Romano ne sint audientes, qui nullo iure diuino in eos quicquam potestatis habet, postquam ita iubet Rex, ut illi non obediant. Qui contra fecerint eos præcipue docet legem diuinam contemnere. Non est ergo

¹ Froude, *Hist. of England*, II. 208.

² See MS. Cott., Cleop., E. VI., ff. 313. The first, which is referred to above, runs as follows :—Fyrste. To sende for all the bisshopes of this realme and speeyallie for suche as be nerest vnto the Courte, and to examyn them a-parte whether they by the law of god can prove and iustefie that he that now is called the pope of Rome is aboue the generall counsaile, or the generall counsaile aboue him. Or whether he hathe gyuen vnto him by the law of god any more auctoryte within the realme then any other Foreyn Bisshop.”

³ MS. Cott., Cleop., E. VI., ff. 317.

quod sibi timeant Angli de humana quavis potestate episcopi Rho-
[mani], qui aliam quam humanam, hoc est humano consensu, in
Anglos non habet. Obediant igitur Deo non homini.

“Hæc est ueritas Dei firmata.

“Londini, in Ædibus Tho. Bertheleti ” (no date).

It consists of 14 leaves, 4to, with the colophon—“Thomas Berthe-
letus Regius Impressor Excudebat. Cum privilegio.”

In this treatise Dr Sampson vindicated the king's action in as-
suming the title of “Supreme Head of the Church,” and confuted
the claim of the Pope to any jurisdiction in England. He grounded
the king's right to supremacy, ecclesiastical and civil, upon the two
texts—“Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there
is no power but of God ; the powers that be are ordained of God ;”¹
and “Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's
sake ; whether it be the king, as supreme,” &c.² Kings, therefore, he
argued, were God's vicars and representatives here on earth, and
should be obeyed accordingly ; but the Pope had no jurisdiction out-
side his province, and had no more power in England than the
Archbishop of Canterbury at Rome.³

With this treatise the king was greatly pleased, and it was pub-
lished with his authority and approval, and copies were sent to all
persons of importance at home and abroad.

Henry was extremely anxious to have Dr Sampson's book
approved and supported by some name of acknowledged standing,
and naturally his thoughts were directed towards Reginald Pole, who
had now attained to such a position that his opinion would carry the
greatest weight, and, more than all others, induce the waverers to give
their support to the king.

§ 7. Reginald Pole, the second son of Margaret Plantagenet,
Countess of Salisbury, was born at Stoverton, or Stourton, Castle, in
the year 1500. He had been treated by Henry with especial favour ;
had been educated at the king's expense ; had been, while
still a boy, appointed to a rich ecclesiastical benefice, and would
doubtless, had his inclination or his views permitted him, have

¹ Romans xiii. 1.

² 1 Peter ii. 13.

³ See Strype, *Eccles. Memor.*

attained to the highest position in the English Church.^x He had studied at Paris and Padua with such good results that, as he himself in 1536 states in a letter to the king, he, though still a young man, "had long been conversant with old men; had long judged the oldest man that lived too young for him to learn wisdom from."¹ He had not, however, been able to assent to the resolutions of parliament and convocation relative to the divorce of Henry from Queen Katherine, and he had in consequence applied for and obtained leave to reside for a time at Avignon, whence he afterwards removed to Padua. Meanwhile the king's feelings towards him had remained unchanged; the revenues of the deanery of Exeter and his pension were regularly paid to him, and he was exempted specially from the condition required of all holders of ecclesiastical benefices, of swearing allegiance to the issue of Anne Boleyn. To him, therefore, the king's thoughts naturally turned, and in conversation with Starkey he inquired from him what he believed to be Pole's sentiments on the subject of the Pope's supremacy and the divorce, and whether, if applied to, he would be likely to write in favour of Dr Sampson's book. To these inquiries Starkey answered cautiously, that, although he was confident that Pole's hearty desire was to do the king service, yet as to his opinions on these subjects he could say nothing, since Pole had always preserved a strict silence on the point. This answer did not satisfy the king, and he therefore ordered Starkey to write to Pole and communicate to him his wishes. Starkey accordingly writes as follows :²—

(15 February, 1535.)

(1) Syr, I most hertely commend me vn to you, and where as I haue byn somewhat sloo in wrytyng syne I arryuyd hyther to our cuntrey, (where as I bere the ayre bettur then I dyd wyth you in Italy) I wyl now my slaknes therin by the lengthe of thys in some parte recompense the wych I trust schal no thyng offend you but bryng to you grete plesure & comfort. Syr, as you know syth our fyrst acqyntance & famlyaryte many letturys ther hath byn at sundry tymys betwyx vs wryten, & much communycacyon ther hath byn also con-

Abstract.

(1) Promises to atone for past remissness in correspondence by the length of this letter, which he entreats Pole to consider seriously

¹ Strype, *Eccles. Memor.*, II. 305.

² Harl. MS. 283, leaf 131.

cernyng the Instytution of our lyfys, wyth such fydelite mynstryd apou both *partys* as was conuenient to the syncerenes of our hartys & myndys, but yf euer any of thes you haue jugyd to be worthy of remembrance, or yet dow styke in your memory & mynd, I beseech you let thes few wordys wych I now to you wryte be put in the nombur of them, wyth gud aduertysment and consyderacyon of the same, for the[y] concerne the hole ordur of your lyfe here aftur to be lade in thys our cuntrey among your natural louerys & frendys. (2) Syr, I was but Late by the synguler gentylnes of Maystur Secretary, wos gudnes bothe toward me & also to you ys so sonke in to my brest, that duryng my lyfe I schal euer reken my selfe next to our prynce aboue al other most faythfully to hym bounden, for in the court to the kyngys seruyce and by hys most louyng commendacyonysso graciously of hys hyghnes acceptyd & admyttyd that schortly aftur hyt plesyd the same to cal me to hys presence, and ther of you, of your studys, and of your sentence & opynyon in hys gracys most weyghty causys here late defynynd, most louyngly many thyngys to demaunde; to the wych I made such answeare, as euer I haue jugyd conuenient to be made before the maiesty of a prynce; that ys, such thyngys as I knowe manyfest & true playnly to affyrme, and such wherof I stond in dowte by coniecture only to reherce: and so your mynd, hart & desyre to dow hys grace true & faythful seruyce, wych I know no other wyse then I know myn owne, I boldly dyd affyrme, but as touchyng your opynyon in hys gracys late defynynd causys, one of the matrymony, the other concernyng the authoryte of the pope, for as much as you euer haue vsyd thys prudent sylence neuer to dysclose your sentence & mynd but in tyme & place, I coude not of your opynyon any thyng therin playnly affyrme, but yet thys to hys hyghnes I sayd & suerly I thought, that as fer as your lernyng & iugement, wych I estymyd by tyme & dylygent study somewhat was alteryd & incresyd, also touchyng the dycernyng betwyx goddys law & mannys wold streche & extend, al your powar & al such knolege & lernyng as by the gudnes of god & hys gracys lyberalyte you had obtaynyd & got, to the mayntenynge of such thyngys as hys gracys wysdome by court of *parlyament* therin had decyed, you wold gladly confer to the honowre of hys hyghnes & welth of hys reame. (3) thys much I sayd, thys fer I went, but hys grace not satysfyd therwyth, desyryng to have your sentence therin playnly declaryd, commandyd me thys now to wryte to you, that hys plesure was that you schold lyke a lernyd man, al assertyon by any cause rysyng set asyde, in thos ij causys

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(2) Has been appointed chaplain to the king, who had questioned him as to Pole's opinion respecting the divorce, &c., to which he had answered that Pole had never openly declared his opinion, but that he felt confident that his earnest wish was to please the king. (3) Henry, not satisfied with this, had ordered him to desire Pole to

pondur and wey the nature of the thyngys as they be in them selfe, and puttyng a-parte al sucessys & daungerouse effectys wych of them may insue, leuyng al such thyngys to hys gracys wysedome & hys pollycy, declare your sentence truly & playn wythout coloure or cloke of dyssymulatyon, (wych hys grace most pryncely abhorryth,) not wylling you of thes thyngys to make any grete volume or boke but breuely to geddur the most effectual resonys wych in your stomake be of most weyght, & them to set forth aftur your playn fascyon & maner of wrytyng. thys was hys gracys plesure & commandement that I schold to you wryte, wych I haue as nere as my memory wold *serue* me therin truly & faythfully now to you exerc[y]syd. (4) now, syr, considur and prudently wey how pryncely a request thys ys of oure prynce, and then I am sure you wyl imploy your selfe wyth al dyligence & study to satisfye hys nobul desyre, to the wych also mastur secretary, (whose most louyng gudnes toward you gyuyth place to no man) most gently doth exhort you, wylling you also in any case, what so euer your sentence in thes causys schal be, to vse your wont & custumyd playnes wyth prudent symplecyte, and me apor hys behalfe thys to certyfy you, that in case be your lernyng & iugement in thes materys of weyght wold strech & extend to the satysfying of the kyngys desyre & mynd, that then your retorne hyther to your cuntrey schold be gretely to the kyngys plesure, to your owne comfort, & much profyt to the rest of your frendys; ye and yet farther, yf so be that your knolege & lernyng wold not *serue* you to thys purpos & request of the kyng, yet notwithstandyng wold he aduyse you, of a tendur & louyng mynd, to prepare yourselfe at your conuenient lesur toward your cuntrey, dowyng no thyng but [th]at the kyngys hyghnes in other hys causys & hys affayrys schal vse your *seruyce* & most louyng & *seruyce*ful mynd. for sory he ys that ther among straungerys wythout profyt to your cuntrey your vertues schold be so vtterly drownyd & lyke as in a dreame vanysch away. (5) wherby, syr, you may playnly *perceyue* the gentilnes of hys stomake & synguler gudnes to al men of honesty, wych to you almost vnacquaynted & of smal famylyaryte beryth suche mynd, mouyd only by the opynyon of vertue, wych to hym fame hath reportyd, in so much that thys he wyllid me now by my letturys of hys gudnes and beneuolent mynd, so to assure you, that in al such thyngys as myght touche your preferment to my lady your mother & my lord your brother whome nature so straitly byndyth only he wold gyue place: wherin he

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state in writing briefly, but openly and sincerely, his opinion on the two points. (4) Has been further desired by Cromwell to assure him that, should his opinion be favourable to the king, his return to England would be very welcome; but that in any case he is to prepare to return, as the king would be glad of his advice and assistance in other weighty matters. (5) Assures him that Crom-

schowyth so gentyl a stomake that I dare thys boldly now say that, yf euer hereafter hyt schalbe your chaunce presently here of thys mynd in hym experyence to take, you schal as I dow for hys vertues & not only for hys authoryte haue hym in stabyl & reuerent loue, such ys hys wysedome & in materys of state hys hygh pollycey. and thus now you haue hard the most prudent aduyse & synguler beneuolence of mastur secretary, to the wych I dowte not but that wyth grete gladnes you wyl apply yourselfe, wylling therby to satysfye our pryncys plesure & desyre. And now, syr, for by-cause syth our last departure out of our cuntrey lytyl communycacyon concernyng thes materys hathe byn betwyx vs had, I wyl now adioyne thes few wordys vn to you. (6) Ponder you wel thys leuytcal law & how hyt ys rotyd in the law of nature, and how by general conseyll hyt hath byn many tymys declaryd & authorysyd therby, and forther how apou the other syde the sklendurnes of thys long vsurpyd & abusyd authoryte of the pope, wych by pacyence of pryncys, simplycte of the pepul, & ambycouse auaryce of hys predecessorys, in processe of tyme by lytyl & lytyl ys growen to thys intollerabul iniquyte, and then I thynk that you schal see in thes causys the jugyd truth & playn equitye. But al thys I leue to your owne consyderacyon & jugement, praying to hym, of whome to al men cumyth al lyght, that by hys lyght & grace you may see the truth, & so then to set forth that hyt may be comfort to our prynce, plesure to your selfe and to al other here your louarys & frendys. And thus now, syr, I wyl make an end, fynychyng my letturys wyth comfortabul newys that al such rumor & fame wych by men of corrupt jugement not hauyng dyscretyon to juge & dyscerne betwyx veray & true relygyon & lyght & false superstycyon syth was in Italy you dyuulgyd, ys vturly false & ful of vanyte. (7) For of this dowte you nothyng, that albehyt apou many resonabul & iuste causys our most nobul prynce hathe wythdrawen hymselfe from the popys authoryte, yet from the certayn & sure groundys of scrypture hys grace in no poynt ys slyde, no nor yet from the lawys nor ceremouns of the church, the wych yet stond in ful strenghth & authoryte; and so the[y] schal boldly I dare affyrme, vntyl such tyme that to hys hyghnes & to hys most wyse conseyll hyt schal appere expedyent them to abrogate & other to substytute by commyn assent more agreabul to thys tyme and to the nature of our men, & also to our hole cuntrey more conuenient. here ys no thyng downe wythout due ordur & resonabul mean; here ys touchyng

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well is prompted only by a sincere love for him. (6) Expresses his confidence that Pole, on consideration of the matter, will see the truth to be on the king's side. (7) Assures Pole that there is no truth in the report that the king had separated himself from the Church of Rome in points of doctrine, or had ordained new rites and ceremonies. Had it been so he himself would never have entered the king's service.

relygyon nothyng almost alteryd at al but that wych was of al other most necessary, wych ys, as I trust, & schalbe a veray ground & a foundatyon to cyuyle ordur & a true & ryght pollycy. thys ys the state here, and of thys one thyng I dow you assure, yf I had found truth in dede thes thyngys wych by mysreport ther wyth you were commynly sayd, as that our prynce schold be slypt also from the groundys of scripiture, from the honowre of the sacramentys, & from al the commyn Lawys & holsome ceremonys of the church wythout ordur, I wold neuer haue byn so wythout sense or stomake of an honest man, as at thys tyme to haue sought to entur to hys seruyce; for the desyre wych I haue long nuryshyd in my brest to serue thys our mastur & prynce ys in thys stabyl, & I trust euer schalbe, in hys seruyce to serue god & my cuntrey, to the wych purpos the rest of my lyfe I wyl now dedycate to hys grace & wyth such hart & mynd serue hym wythal as ys conuenient to a true faythful & chrystyan subiect toward hys most nobul & catholyke prynce: thys ys my mynd & I am sure the same ys yourys, the wych I trust in factys you schal haue place schortly to declare & thys I commyt you to god. At London the xv of February,

By yourys assuryd,
Thomas Starkey.

Endorsed,

Thomas Starkey to his frend in Italy wishing him to geve his opinyone to the kinges grace touching his oppinyone for the Altering of Relygeon and the Abolishing of the popes Authoritye.

The bribe, however, thus plainly offered to Pole did not produce its effect so soon as the king expected. Writing on the 12th April, Pole merely acknowledged the receipt of Starkey's letter, excusing the delay in answering it by the plea that it had come to him by way of Florence, and had been delayed on the road. He promised, however, that he would with all diligence apply himself to the consideration of the subject, and endeavour to satisfy the king's request as stated by Starkey; namely, that he would "in few wordys, clerly & playnly, without coloure or cloke of dyssymulacyon," declare his opinion on the matters in question.

Starkey, who evidently had begun to feel ill at ease in consequence of the non-receipt of any answer to his letter, felt relieved at this explanation, but lost no time in pressing the matter on Pole, and supporting the views expressed by him in his former letter by additional arguments. But this was not the sole nor indeed the principal object of this second letter. More especially was he anxious

to explain to Pole certain events which had in the interval occurred in England, and which were liable to be misrepresented abroad.

The most important of these was the execution, on the 5th of May, of certain monks of the Charterhouse and others for refusing to subscribe to the doctrine of the king's supremacy, or to proclaim in their churches and chapels that the Pope was Antichrist. The system adopted with regard to them was simple and expeditious; they were condemned of high treason and hanged. Other executions followed on the 18th June.

§ 8. Such an event as this was eminently calculated to excite the indignation of the Court of Rome, more especially as it would in all probability be greatly exaggerated and misreported. With the view, therefore, of acquainting Pole with the true facts of the case, on which he could speak with authority (having been, as he tells Pole, one of those sent by Cromwell to try to persuade Reynolds to give way and acknowledge the king's supremacy), and of freeing his mind from the ill effects of such misrepresentations as might have reached him, Starkey writes as follows: ¹—

(End of May or June 1535.)

(1) Syr, I am glad that at the last, by your letturys of the xij of Apryle to Johan Walker, we haue hard of the receyte of such letturys as were wryte vn to you concernyng the kyngys plesure; for much I maruelyd that of thys long tyme I hard no thyng of the delyuerance of the same, wych I now perceyue was by cause the letturys cam to you by the way of Florence. but how so euer hyt was that they were kept from you, glad I am that at the last they are arruyd to your handys, and much more glad that by the² few wordys you wrote in hast I perceyue you wyl wyth al dylygence apply your selfe to satysfye the kyngys most nobul request & plesure, wych was, in few wordys clerly & playnly, wythout coloure or cloke of dyssymulacyon, to schow your sentence in hys lately defynd causys, the wych thyng I am sure you wyl dow wyth glad hart and mynd, for yf I know you wel in such causys you wyl not dyssymbul wyth a kyng (from the wych dyssymulacyon I neuer see to thys day wyth any man a mynd more abhorryng): therfor what so euer your sentence schalbe in the materys requyryd I boldly haue affyrmyd, both to the kyngys hyghnes & also to Maystur Secretary,

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(1) Is glad to see by Pole's letter of 12th April that he promises

¹ MS. Cleop. E. VI., leaf 358.

² MS. they.

that hyt schalbe vnfaýnyd & pure, wythout cloke of dyssymulacyon, of the wych sincere iugement in you the kyng ys desyrouse by-cause perauentur in some other hys grace hath byn therin deceyuyd.

(2) Syr, of the inelanatyon of your mynd in thys behalfe, though the ful declaratyon you reserue to long leyser, yet in some parte to Maystur Secretory by your next letturys you may sygnifye, when you make answeare to hys letturys dyrectyd to you, the wych I am sure before thys tyme by the ambassador of Venyce are come to your handys. And, syr, as touchyng the mater of the popys authorityte, we here, your frendys, put no dowte but therin you schal to the ful satisfactyon of the kyngys mynd see the iugyd truthe: for neuer can I thynke, when I consydyr your iugement and lernyng, that you can be of thys sentence that such a hede, or such superyoryte schold be of the Law of God & to the saluatyon of man of hye necessitye, the wych sayn Jerome playnly affyrmyth to be *constytute in remedium scismatis* & not to be of such necessite (*in epistola ad euagrum*).

(3) And yf I haue any Iugement in any other kynd of letturys or dyuynyte thys I dare say, that thys superyoryte of long tyme gyuen to the pope only by the patyence of pryneys *et tacito quodam christiani populi consensu*, by processe of tyme ys growen in as a thyng conuenyent to the conseruatyon of the chrystyan vnyte, but in no case to be of such necessitye, that, wythout the same, chrystyan myndys may not attayn to theyr saluatyon nor kepe the spiritual vnyte: ye and yf you wey the mater wel I thynke you schal ferther fynd thys superyoryte, as hyt hath byn of many yerys vsyd, nothyng to be conuenyent at al to the conseruatyon of the polytyk vnyte, the wych thyng as you know bettur than I, to whome storys are bettur knowen, hath byn the gretyst brake that in memory we haue to al chrystyan cyuylte; for what chrystyan pryneys haue we who one a-gayn a nother hath not drawn theyr swordys for the mayntenance of thys authorityte? And dayly I besech hym that gouernyth al that in our days we see not the same; but after my pore fancy bettur hyt ys though hyt be wyth some daungere, to cut vp such a rote of sedycyon in al chrystyan cyuylte, then let hyt remayn to the contynual destructyon of our posteryte. Thes thyngys I am sure you see wyth a hygher & deper consyderatyon then I can attayn vn-to, wher-by you schal I trust in thys behalfe satisfye the kyngys mynd & plesure. For sory hys hyghnes wold be to see you not to reche vn-to so manyfest a truthe, (as I haue perceyuyd of hys grace at sundry tymys when hyt hath plesyd hys hyghnes to talke of you to the declaratyon of hys nobul affecte wych he beryth toward you).

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to endeavour to satisfy the king's request. (2) He and all Pole's other friends are confident that the result of his examination of the subject will be to the king's satisfaction. (3) Declares his own conviction that the supremacy of the Pope is not essential to man's salvation,

(4) And as touchyng the mater of the fyrst maryage, I dowte not also but when you ley togyddur wythout any affectyon the weyght of such maryage betwyx brother & systur, & the sklendurnes of such powar as the pope had in such causys to dyspense, you schal schortly by your wysedome see of that maryage the *inconuenyency*, so that in both *partys* grete hope I haue to see you satysfye the kyngys plesure and mynd, and then schortly aftur wyth grete comfort both to your selfe & to your frendys so to retorne in to our natyfe cuntrey, here to fynysch the rest of your lyfe in quyetnes & tranquillyte.

(5) And where as sklanderouse fame & mysreport may *perauentur* put you in suspycyon of the *contrary*, for as much as before thys I am sure hyt ys blowen abrode in Italy how here are put to deth monkys of the charturhouse, *men* notyd of grete sanctyte, you schal vnderstond in few wordys the truth of the same to the intent you may by the declaratyon therof, as much as lyth in you, stoppe such mysreport as may therby be made to the sklaundyr of our natyon & cuntrey. Fyrst you schal vnderston[d] in the laste *parlyament* an acte to be made that al the kyngys subiectys schold, vnder payn of treson, renounce the popys *superyoryte*, to the wych acte as the rest of our natyon wyth one consent dyd agre so dyd thes munkys, iij pryorys & Raynoldys of Syon, the wych now of late, contrary to theyr othe & also to the acte, retornyd to theyr old obedyence, affyrmyng the same by theyr blynd *superstycyouse* knolege to be to the saluatyon of man of necessitye, & that thys *superyoryte* to the pope was a sure truth and manyfest of the Law of god, and a thyng wych was of chryst instytute as necessary to the *conseruatyon* of the *spiritual* vnyte of thys mystical body of chryst. In thys blyndnes theyr *superstycyouse* myndys were stablyd, lakkyng iugement to dyserne the *dyuersyte* betwyx the vnyte *spiritual* & the vnyte *polytycal*, wych they thought schal run to ruine for lake of thys hede whome they made *immedyate* iuge vnder chryst, on whose iugement al, as of the vycar of chryst, chrystian men ought of necessitye to hange. In thys opynyon most sturdyly stode Raynoldys, whome I haue hard of yore many tymys praysyd, who was so rolyd therin that he could admyt no reson to the *contrary*. Dyuerse were sent to them in pryson by the kyngys *commandement* to instruct them wyth the truth, but in that opynyon both he & the rest were so blyndyd & sturdy that nother they could

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but rather a cause of dissension and sedition. (4) As regards the divorce, he is certain that Pole will at once see the impropriety of a marriage between a brother and sister, and that the Pope has no power of dispensation in such cases. (5) As to the execution of the Charterhouse monks, they had been put to death for affirming the Pope's supremacy to be an essential article of belief, contrary to an Act of Parliament lately passed, and were therefore guilty of treason, for

see the truth in the cause, nor yet gyue conuenient obedyence due to such personys, as of them selfe can not see the truthe. Wherfor, accordyng to the course of the law, as rebellys to the same, & dysobedyent to the pryncely authoritye, and as personys wych, as much as lay in them, haue rotyd a sedycyon in thys commynalty, they most justely haue suffryd thys wordly dethe, whose synnys & blyndnes I besech our lord pardon.

(6) Thys ys the truth of thys mater, wherof I can certaynly assure you, for by the lycens & commandement of Master Secretary I was admyttyd to here Raynoldys raysonys, & to confer such lyght as god hath gyuen me in the same cause wyth hym. In whome I promys you I nother found strong rayson to mayntene hys purpus, nor yet grote lernyng to the defence of the same. Wyth hym I conferryd gladly, for sory I was for many causys that a man of such fame as he was here notyd both for vertue & lernyng, schold dye in such a blynd & superstycouse opynyon, but no thyng coud avayle but that he wold in that opynyon as a dysobedyent person to the kyngys lawys suffur hys deth, wyth the other of the same mynd; wherof they them selfe were the cause, in so much that hyt semyd to me they sought theyr owne deth, of the wych no man can be justely accusyd but they themselfe. Thys thyng, syr, as occasyon, tyme & place doth requyre, you may commyn ther, as you schal thynke hyt expedient, and to such as you may perceyue by mysreport are other ways informyd, for thys ys the truth, that I haue breuely touchyd by thes letturys vn to you.

After Starkey had written as above, but, as it seems, before he had despatched his letter, he received a further communication from Pole, dated 22nd April, in which he promises to consider the matter carefully, and to examine into all the ecclesiastical and other authorities on the point. It would seem from a passage in Starkey's reply to this letter that Pole had stated that a couple of months or so would intervene before he could forward his written opinion. To this the king does not appear to have raised any objection, but only to have repeated his wish that Pole would not make any "grote or long volume" on the matter, but state his views as briefly as possible. Starkey accordingly wrote to Pole (MS. Cott., Cleop. E. VI., leat 360).

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which, and not for their religion, they were condemned. (6) Of the facts of the case he could speak with authority, having been sent by Cromwell to argue with Reynolds, whom he had found blinded by superstitious obstinacy. He himself regrets the death of these men very much, and hopes Pole will correct any misreport of the matter.

(1) Aftur I had wryte thys much vn to you *perceyuyng* your mynd somewhat of your letturys to Johan Walker, wch were receyuyd apon Wytson morn, the same day at nyght I receyuyd your letturys to me of the xxij of apryle, the tenoure wherof I haue schowyd to the kyngys hyghnes, who gratefully toke your mynd as I coud *perceyue*, but somewhat meruelyng that you schold take so much plesure in your quyat & scolastycal studys, as I schowyd hys grace you dyd, wylling you in thes materys requyryd, accordyng to your duty, as wel toward hys hyghnes as toward your cuntrey, to set aparte al such scolastical respectys, to the declaratyon of your lernyd iugement, wherby you myght in setting forth such a truth *profyt* your cuntrey, the wych thyng I am sure you wyl, so I affyrmyd, that you wold dow

(2) By al thes ij monethys your *sentence* schalbe lokyd for, in the declaratyon wherof, as I haue wryte to you before, you schal not nede to wryte any grete or long volume, but *tempur* your style, as your prudence, lernyng & iugement schal *serue* you therin, in the wych thyng our lord gyue you hys lyght that you may see the sure & certayn truthe : wherof I haue grete hope when I *consydur* the saying of scripture, wherin hyt ys sayd that by puryte of mynd the lyght of truth ys sonyst *perceyuyd*, and your mynd to thys day I haue not yet knowen spottyd wyth any notabul affectyon. (3) Maystur Secretory also, of hys most gentyl & louyng mynd toward you and of hys grete wysedome & synguler prudence, wylling you to *pondur* thys thyng wel, that ys of secrete & quyat studys the vncertayne frute, wych hengyth for the most *parte* of the blynd Iugement of the redar & of the posteryte, and apon the other syde the wyse & prudent handelyng of *controuersys* of weyght in thys our present age, to the ordur wherof we in thys tyme specyally be of nature borne & brought forth, as the posteryte to materys of theyr tyme, the close & manyfest defynytion wherof also hathe annexyd and joynyd therto sure & certayn frute wych ys the stablyschyd quyetnes of the *commyn* wele—by the *ponderyng* of thys he jugyth in some *parte* you may be mouyd resonably at the last for a certayn tyme to set aparte your scolastycal studys, to the wych also you may as tyme & occasyon schal *serue* you therto haue recourse agayne. (4) Maystur Baynton also, vy[ce]chamberleyn to the quene, your old louer & frende, to whome the kyngys plesure ys not vnknownen, aftur most hartye comendatyonys, apon hys behalfe wyllid me thys to wryte to you, that you schold wel *consydur*

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(1) Acknowledges receipt of Pole's letter of 22nd April, which he had shown to the king, who had expressed his satisfaction at it, but (2) hoped that Pole will not make any great volume on the subject, nor consume too much time in searching into the writings of ancient scholars which were not suited to the altered state of things ; in which hope (3) Cromwell and (4) his friend Baynton join, the latter impressing on Pole the nature and extent of his obligations to the king.

how the kyngys hyghnes most graciously serchyth, & euer hath downe, a conuenient mean to set you in such case that he myght accordyng to the fame of your vertues & merytys handyl & intrete you; and ferthermore wel to consydur how much the kyng of hys grete gudnes gyuyng vn-to your lernyng & Jugement, whom he knowyth much wylling to haue your consent in hys grete causys although they be defynyd alredy, in so much that your jugement therto can lytyl auance, except perauentur in some parte to the confymacyon therof. Thes thynges I was wyllid to wryte vnto you to wryte, wych, though hyt gretely nedyd not at al for bycause you of your selfe are sufficiencyt styrryd to the fulfylling of the kyngys plesure therin, yet I jugyd hyt to pertayne to my duty both toward you & toward them to certyfyte you therof, wherin I can no more say but pray to god to gyue you such lyght as ys conuenient to that mynd wych labouryth for the enserchyng of the truth.

On the 3rd June Pole wrote again to Starkey. He repeated his promise to give the subject his most careful consideration, and reiterated more strongly his earnest desire and readiness to do all in his power to serve the king and fulfil his pleasure; but he added that in his writing in this cause he would "weigh Scripture, laying apart all authorityte of men." He again excused his delay in answering Starkey's and Cromwell's letters by stating that he had been waiting for further instructions from the latter, which had been sent to him in the charge of the ambassador of Venice, and had been delayed on the road. In all probability, however, the true reason was that in the mean time he had been feeling his way at the Court of Rome. Pole in fact wished, before committing himself to any decided action in favour of either the king's or the Pope's party, to see which side was likely to give him the highest reward for his support. He saw his chance, and he utilized it to the utmost advantage by temporizing with the king while he was making his ground sure at Rome.¹

§ 9. For such a man Starkey was no match in matters of business or diplomacy. Pole's delay in answering his letters he attributed only to a possible unwillingness on the part of the latter to be drawn into

¹ Phillips, in his *History of Reginald Pole*, London, 1767, I. 74, 75, reproduces the story of Henry's having, in 1529, offered Pole the archbishopric of York if he would give his support in favour of the king's divorce, of the rejection of the offer by Pole, and of the subsequent interview between them, with its romantic conclusion—a story which Burnet characterizes as "a romantic adventure, invented by Sanders . . . and mentioned by no contemporary writer."

the matter at all. His mind was therefore considerably relieved on the receipt of Pole's letter with the explanation of the delay, and he at once wrote again, urging the pressing nature of the business, and supporting his view of the subject with additional arguments (MS. Cott., Cleop. E. VI., leaf 356):—

(? August, 1535.)

(1) Syr, You haue downe wel that by your letturys of the thryd of Iune you haue somewhat more at large openyd your affecte[on] & wyl to *serue* the kyng in the cause of you requyrd. Wherin though of your wyl, wych I know euer to be redy to *serue* the kyng in al poyntys that you may, I dyd no thyng dowte, yet by your long sylence mouyd I coude not but feare lest the cause had lytyl lykyd you, but now I *perceyue* you haue byn slakker in wrytyng bycause you mor lokyd for ferther instructyon by Mastur Secretorys letturys, wych haue byn longur by the way than the ambassador of venyce at hys departure made to me sure promys they schold; but now you haue al wych haue byn to you wryten in thys cause, hereafter I schal not cesse to loke for your answere, trustyng that hyt schal be wyth such iugement & graunte as ys conuenyent to your lernyng & to the expectatyon that men haue here therof. (2) For syth hyt ys so as by your letturys you declare that wyth al dylygence you wyl wey scripture therin, leying aparte al authoryte of man, I dowte not also but that you wyl wyth lyke Jugement in examynyng of the same put asyde al such preiudicia as by custume and tyme in sympul myndys be reputyd of grete wayght; wherof we haue lamentabul experyence here in our cuntrey, by the blyndnes of many wych lately haue suffryd: hauyng no thyng of moment to lay agayn the authoryte of law, but only long custume, and vsage of many yerys, and aunceyent opynyons wherin theyr fatherys haue dyed, they lake the true iugement of polytyke thyngys—wych be of thys nature that of necessity in processe of tyme & in many yerys euer by lytyl & lytyl grow to iniuste extremyte, non other wyse than the body of man by the course of nature euer in tyme fallyth in decay & natural debylyte—the wych thyng not wel consyderyd hath causyd dyuerse here of late, not wythout sorow of many honest myndys stubburnely to repugne to the commyn pollycy, whose exampul I am ¹ sure schal wyth you no thyng wey, whome I haue knowen, euer wythout any exteryor & vayn respecte, euer loke wyth a constant & stabyl mynd to truth & honestye: (3) in

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(1) Expresses his pleasure at Pole's promise to consider the points as desired, and his professions of anxiety to please the king. (2) Hopes that Pole will enter upon the question with a mind free of all prejudices arising from long custom and use. (3) That the supremacy

¹ Leaf 356, back.

so much that of thys I dow make wyth my selfe almost a sure ground, & of your iugement me semyth am certayn, that by your dylygent ponderyng both of storys & scripture in thys behalfe, you wyl soone see how that chrystys doctryne determ[yn]yth no one kynd of pollycey but in al statys may be stablyschyd & groundyd, so that thys superyoryte & vnyte of God, ys not to be requyryd of necessity, but hangyth only apon mere pollycey, for as much as chryst sayd, *regnum meum non est de hoc mundo*, & in a nother place as you know, *quis me constituit diuisorem inter vos*, by the refuse wherof, as I take hyt, he wold declare al such thyngys to be left to the gouernance of man and worldly pollycey. (4) Thes thyngys I thynke schal besomewhat in your mynd confermyd by the redyng of Marsilius, whome I take, though he were in style rude, yet to be of a grete iugement, & wel to set out thys mater, both by the authoryte of scripture & gud reysouns groundyd in phylosophy, and of thys I pray you send me your iugement. (5) Syr, as touchyng Mister Gaspero, whose excellent vertue & lernyng are to me knowen as they be to you, I can not be but glad; how be hyt I thynke he schal more rather gyue & adde honowre to the ordur, then therof to take any ornament, and yf I had not sure confydence in hys dyuine nature & as you say angelycal, I wold somewhat feare lest by thys dygnyte he schold also conceyue the nature of a cardynal—of whome ther I haue hard many tymys sayd that wyth the hatte wyl remayne neuer nother honowre nor yet honesty—but he by hys synguler vartue may be perauenture a meane to restore to that ordur some dygnyte: but as touchyng thys parte, that yf he were pope as I coniecture truly he schortly schalbe, he¹ schold restore in chrystys church the old vnyte, of thys I haue no expectatyon at al, for that vnyte ys now so open & playn that men I thynke schal neuer in our days desyre hyt to be restoryd agayne aftur that sorte as hyt hath byn vsyd. (6) To thys I suppose not only the nature angelycal of mastur gaspero ys not suffyeyent, but the angellys of heuyn yf they schold come to prech that superyoryte agayn, of many I thynke they schold scarsely be hard, for so hyt ys iugyd by wyse men to repugne to gud ordur & commyn pollycey, that they seme to lake iugement wych wold by any man haue that to be restoryd agayne. How be hyt of thys now I wyl speke no more, for I dowte not but in weying thys mater you

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of the Pope is a matter not of religion but of policy. Christ himself refused all earthly power, saying, "My kingdom is not of this world;" by which He plainly left worldly matters to be regulated by men. (4) In support of his view he refers Pole to Marsilius. (5) Is glad to hear of Gaspero's being raised to the rank of cardinal, but hopes his nature will not change like that of other cardinals, for "with the hat remains neither honour nor honesty." (6) Not even Gaspero, if made Pope, would be able to restore the Pope's authority in

¹ Leaf 357.

schal see thys to be true bettur than I can other conceyue or expresse. (7) And, syr, wher as you wryte that when you wryte to the kyng you wyl wythal make answere to *mastur* secretorys letturys, me semyth you are ouer slake therin, how be hyt I can not perceyue hys *gentylnes* to be much offendyd therwyth; he forsyth not much of your answere to hym, so that to the kyng you make such answere as may be to the honowre of god, & setting forth of the truthe, wherby you schal both profyt your cuntrey & bryng much comforte to your selfe & to your louarys & frendys; of thys *mastur* secretory semyth to be desyrouse, wherin you see how much you are to hys gudnes bounden, and not only for thys, but also for other hys grete *gentylnes*, wych dyuerse ways he hath schowyd & dayly doth to other of your frendys, wych as I take hyt he gladlyer doth for your sake & for the loue wych he beryth to you, *conceynyd* by opynyon of such *vertues* as be reportyd to be in you, wherof I trust at your retorne you schal schow manyfest experyence, the wych I pray god schortly may be to your comfort.

With this letter is a small slip of paper in Starkey's handwriting, which appears from internal evidence to be in all probability his copy of a short letter from Cromwell to Pole enclosed in his own. It runs as under (leaf 357):—

Syr, aftur my most hartly recommendatyonys thys schalbe in few & schort wordys to requyre, you accordyng to the calling that our lord *Jesu Chryst*, hath callyd & indeuyd you, that ys to say, as wel wyth the gyft of gud *lettures* and vnderstandyng as wyth the most excellent gyft of iugement in the same, ye wyl indeuur your selfe to make answere vn-to such thyngys as be contynyed in *mastur* Sterkey's *lettures* to you wrytyn at thys tyme, by the kyng our *masturys* & soueraynys expresse commandement, & that the same answer may be such & of such graunte as the lyght & truthe therof may be to the honowre of god & the satysfactyon of hys hyghnes: wherof I assure you I wold be as glad as any parent or frend ye haue lyuyng, not dowtyng in your approuyd wysedome & iugement but that ye wyl extend the gyftys gyuen vn-to you in such wyse and leuyng al your respectys or affectyon, wole so inserch your conseyence & iugement for the truth as ye wole both dyscharge your selfe agaynst god & your prynce, in dowyng wherof you schal assurvydly dow the thyng much to the increse of your meryte & fame. Wherin, as he that ys your assuryd frend to hys lytyl power, I requyre yow to haue indyf-

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England as it had been, no, nor yet an angel from heaven. (7) Hopes Pole will not neglect to answer Cromwell's letters, who has in many ways shown his affection towards him by kindness to his friends.

ferent consyderatyon & so to ordur your selfe therin as the expectatyon of your frendys wythe the jugement of al men that knowyth you may be satsfyd in that behalfe, & thus our lord send you no worse to fare then I wold ye dyd at London.

§ 10. From internal evidence it is clear that it was about this time that Starkey wrote the letter to Cromwell which is printed by Mr Collier in his *Nine Historical Letters* alluded to below. In it he apologizes for not having written before on the plea of an attack of ague. He encloses a "lytyl scrole" which he hopes Cromwell will find time to read; refers to the death of "Raynolds of Sion," and afterwards to Pole, of whom he says, "apon the erth lyvyth not a more syncere and pure hart then hath Mastur pole, & lesse spottyd wyth dyssymulacyon, therfor, whatsoever Master Pole thynkyth in thes causys the kyng schortly & playnly schal know."

He expresses the hope that Cromwell will "take occasyon to speke wyth the kyngys hyghnes of so pore a man as [he is] to stablysh in hys grace such opynyon of [him] as [his] hart doth deserve . . . for to hys se[r]vyce [he is] mouyd by love & faythful observaunce, & by no wordly benefyte nor wordly avauncement."

Pole's letters to Starkey had been, it would seem, so skilfully worded that the latter was very confident that the result would be one gratifying to the king, and no doubt he signified as much to his master.

§ 11. But there had been a letter, or rather a treatise, by Pole written, as it would appear from a passage in the following letter from Starkey (see p. xxviii, l. 5, and p. xxx, l. 33), before the king had instructed the latter to write to him asking for his opinion, in which he seems to have discussed the subject more as a matter of policy than of divinity, pointing out the dangers which might possibly arise from the course which had been pursued, but not touching at all on the very points on which the king was most anxious to have his opinion, viz., whether his marriage with Queen Katherine was legal according to divine law, and whether the supremacy which the popes had for so many centuries claimed for themselves was in accordance with the same rule. It was on these points that the king desired his opinion, and not on the probable or possible political results of the course which he had adopted, and he therefore ordered Starkey to write to

Pole to this effect. Starkey accordingly wrote in the following terms (MS. Cott., Cleop. E. VI., leaf 361) :—

(? — 1535.)

(1) Syr. You wrote before in our pryneys cause of your owne mocyon : wherin you schowyd loungly the daungerys that myght of hys cause folow, but the mater hyt selfe as hyt ys here by the kyng most scharlypy jugyd you dyd not almost touche. Wherfor now the kyng, as I haue wryt, requyryth your lernyd Iugement : & that you schold leue your prudent and wytty pollyce tyl you be requyryd. The poyntes be thes, wych though you ryght wel of your selfe know yet I wyl put them a lytyl aftur my mynd before your yes.

(2) An *matrimonium cum relictâ fratris*, ab eo cognita,¹ sit iure divino licitum.

In thys and in the rest also, though the kyngys plesure be you schold gyue place to no mannys *persuasyon* nor authoryte, as I am sure you wyl not ; yet for the loue that I bere vn-to you & for the desyre that I haue that you schold se the Iugyd truth, I wyl note certayn placys of weyght aftur myn opynyon in thes thyngys to be *consyderyd*, euer leuyng your owne iugement fre.

(3) And fyrst for thys poynt *consydyr* how thys law ys rotyd in nature : pondur hyt by thys rule yf hyt seme to you gu[de] : al thyng wych byndyth man to the obseruatyon therof : al law wryten put asy[de] for the conseruatyon of the cyuyle polytyke lyfe vnyuersally conuenyent to the dygnyte of the nature of man : al such I thynke ys rotyd in the law of nature. Apply thy[s] rule wythout affectyon, & wyth a ryght ye examyne hyt in thys case.

And then for the second poynt, *an lyceat dispensare*, esy I thynke hyt scha[ll] be to fynd the popys powar extendyth not therto. And

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(1) Has been desired by the king to point out that Pole's answer had not really touched the matter at issue, and to tell him to keep his opinions on the policy of the king's acts till they are asked for. (2) Again states the questions to be answered : viz., (a) Is marriage with a brother's widow lawful? (3) Arguments against it : 1st, the law of nature ; 2ndly, the Pope's power of dispensation did not, and ought not to, extend to such a case. Such power was a usurpation on the part of the Popes, and had never been granted to them by any general

¹ Starkey here appears to take as an undisputed fact that the marriage between Arthur and Katharine of Arragon had been consummated. But this is very doubtful. Arthur was married on November 6, 1501, and died in the beginning of the following April, when he was only 14 years of age. From the *Simancas State Papers, Rolls Series*, ed. Bergenroth, it is clear that Henry VII. himself did not consider that the marriage had been consummated, as it appears that, in order not to have to restore Katharine's dowry, he proposed to marry her himself after his son's death.

though hyt were expediēt for the wordly pollycy for to haue dispensatyon, as hyt was *perauenture* in the kyngys ca[use], yet hyt ys not expediēt any one man to haue such powar to breke such Law so rotyd in nature, and apon thys ground hyt apperyth to me fer[ther] tha[t] the pope schold not haue powar not only to dyspense wyth any law so rotyd in nature, but also that he hath not powar (nor conuenient hy[t] ys that he schold haue): ye though he were made hede of the chure[h] powar to dyspense wyth lawys made in general conseyll, catholyke lawys, & vnyuersal groundys, ordeynyd for the conseruacyon of chrystyan lyfe in al chrystys churche, and though he hathe vsyd the contrary, hyt was, I thynke, a mysrse & vsurpyd by the reson wherof now hyt ys spyd, now hyt doth fal, now hyt ys plukkyd iustely away.

Loke also & pondur thys whether euer the hole authoryte of making, of abrogatyg, of dyspensyg wyth catholyke lawys & vniuersal groundys of chrystian lyuyng, were euer gyuen & translaid to the pope by any law wryten in general conseyll, wych were necessary to fynd yf we schold attrIBUTE such authoryte. as to the emperourys we fynd *legem regiam qua potestas senatus & populi erat in principem collata*.

(4) ¹The second pryncypal mater:—an *superioritas quam multis in seculis romanus pontifex sibi vindicauit sit ex iure diuino*. Here you must way the placys of the gospel & scripture, wherin I thynke you schal fynd non manyfestly prouyng that; the *commyn* placys you know how y^t they are vnderstood contrary therby dyuerse & many, as when the dyscypels of chryste contendyd for superiorite you know what chryst sayd; you know how poule confessyd [he] knoyth only christ for heed, cyuyle & polytyke hedys he confessyd many, *sed iure diuino nullum*. Ferther loke to the begynnyng of the church when the truth therof was bettur knowen than hyt ys now. In the actys of the apostyls you schal fynd no such thyng, and aftur the apostyls days the iiij patriarchys of Jerusalem, of Antioch, of Constanti[nople], of rome had among them no superiorite.

(5) Loke ferther how the grekys fele from the church catholyke as we cal now, chefely for bycause the byschope of rome wold be chefe hede; you know what ys to be gyuen to the iugement of the grekys in the interpretatyon of scripture bettur than I dow.

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council. (4) The second question: Is the supremacy claimed by the Pope founded on Divine law? He points out that there are no passages of Scripture on which to ground it, and that the bishops of Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Rome were originally equal in authority; that (5) this assumption by the Bishop of Rome of supremacy had caused the separation of the Greek and Latin Churches.

¹ Leaf 361, back.

The contentyon betwyx Petur & Poule takyth away such superioritye as ys gyuen to the successorys of Petur.

Pondur why more from the byschope of Antyoche than of Rome such superiorite ys taken a way sayng Petur was byschope of bothe.

(6) Thes certayn poyntys I now wryte to you, *non quia preiudicium aliquod afferrent*: the kyngys plesure ys that you schold, wythout any preiudicial affectyon taken of any man apon one parte or other, wyth a sincere mynd & wyth that lyght that god hath gyuen you in scripturys & lernyng gyue your sentence. And as touchyng the pollycey of bothe the materys & of bryngyng them to effecte, wych hys grace hathe now downen whether hyt be wel downen or yl he requyryth no iugement of you, as of one that in such thyngys hath no grete experyence as yet. As whether hyt be conueny[ent] that ther schold be one hed in the church & that to be the byschope of rome, set thys asyde, & in hys cause of matrimony, whether the pollycey that he hath vsyd therin be profytabul to hys reame or no, lene that asyde; only schow you whether, yf the fyrst matrymony were to make, whether you wold approue that then or no, and the cause why you wold not, & thus wey the thyng in 'hyt selfe as hyt ys in hys owne nature & put a parte feare of al daungerys, hope of al gud wych schold succede & hangyth apon wordly pollycey, and so clerely wythout affectyon other of kyng or quene breuely gyue your sentence. And thus² you schal fyrst honoure god & truth; & second also satysfye the kyng, wych sayd to me thes wordys, that rather he had you were beryd ther then you schold for any wordly promotyon & profyt to your selfe dyssymbul wyth hym in thes grete and weyghty causys.

Thus² you haue my mynd & the kyngys plesure withal, and yf case be that you reche to the jugyd truth, you nede not to feare, aftur my mynd, that men schold lay to you lyghtnes of mynd & chaungyng of sentence, for as fer as I can coniecture you dyd affyrme noathyng in the cause * as was conuenient for arrogancye hyt (?) any thyng affyrme but only that wych by the word of god we haue declaryd to vs, wherfore you dyd *³ only put before hys yes the daungerys wych hangyd apon wordly pollycey. Yf I remembyr thys you dow, I can not wel tel for I neuer see nor red your boke but onys as you know wel, at the wych tyme hyt semyd to me you wrote so probably that hyt put me in a feare of daungerys to co[me], but I trust

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(6) The king desires Pole to set aside all questions as to *policy*, and, without looking to any danger or advantage that might arise, give his opinion, sincerely and impartially, as to one who would rather see him dead than deceitful.

¹ Leaf 362.

² MS. thys.

³ The words between * are inserted both above the line and in the margin; the order of the clause is not quite clear, but this seems to be the best sense that can be made of it.

the gudnes of god & prouydence of our most wyse prynce schal auerte & turne al suche calamyte by mannys coniecture forseyn from thys our cuntrey.

Dyrecte your knolege yf you see nede by mastur gaspero, the byschope of chete, wyth other such men of hys lernyng & iugem[ent].

§ 12. These repeated requests and solicitations at last had their desired effect. On the 27th May, 1536, Pole forwarded to the king his book *De Unione Ecclesiastica*, with the following letter:—

“Pleaseth it your grace to vnderstond that wheras, furst by Master Sterkeys letters, chapleyn to your grace, and afterward by Master secretory confrmeng the same, I was aduertysed that it was your grace pleasure I shold by my wryting open to your grace my sentence concernyng the superiorite of the pope in the church, wyth other artycles belongyng to the same, ad[i]oyneng thervnto such reasons as dyd most induce me to enclyne to that parte I toke; assureng me the same shold be most acceptable to your grace, yf, withoutt affection of ony parte, or respecte other but only of the very truthe, I shold playnly sett furth my sentence. I, therefore, gevyng credence to thys enformation and obeyng to your plesure, haue, wyth all playnes, comprised in a boke my hole sentence, wch I have sent to your grace by thys bearer. And now how it schall satysfye your grace that I have wryten, I thynke he knoweth only *in cuius manu sunt corda regum*: for thys knolech I wyll not gyve to your grace, nor to no man, how grete so euer he be, in yerth, to know somuch of hys owne mynd afore he here the truthe how he shal be moued withall: but god only hath thys knolech, wch at hys plesure ys to gyue the lyght of hys spyrite, more or lesse; so he maketh the harte of man more or lesse contentyd wyth the trothe: wherfore to hys goodness now all my prayere shal be, in whom ys all my trust for the knolech of the truthe to be persuadyd to your grace. And as tochyng my purpose in the dyscourse of my boke to the manyfestyng of my sentence, yf it please your grace to have furdre enformation, I have geven instructions therof to thys bearer, to whom it may please your grace to gyve credence.¹ Thus prayng to almyghty god to preserue your grace in highe honore, to the contentation of your most noble hartys desyre, the same agreyng to hys plesure. Writen at Venyce the xxvijth day of May,

By your faythfull seruant,

Raynold Pole.

Indorsed:—“From Pole the xxvijth day of May:” addressed “To the Kynges Grace.”²

¹ These “additional instructions” are in MS. Cott. Cleop. E. vi., leaf 334.

² From the original in the Public Record Office, State Papers, Henry VIII.; “the Pole letters, as transmitted by Mr Collier,” Sept. 1859. (See *Appendix to 21st Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, p. 47.) Privately

In this treatise Pole not only dealt with the arguments adduced in Dr Sampson's book, but also commented freely and sharply on the king's private life and character, so much so indeed as to lay himself open to the charge of base ingratitude.

Before he forwarded the book to England, Pole had shown it to two of his friends in Rome, Contarini and Priuli, who remonstrated with him on the tone which he adopted, pointing out that by treating Henry in such a manner he would not only draw down the king's vengeance on himself, but would also involve his relations in his own danger.

To this Pole replied that their observations were very just, and that he was aware of their truth, but since flattery and temporizing had hitherto been the source of all the evil, the only remaining hope was in exposing the naked truth. "If, however (he says), when you have read through the work you still think, notwithstanding what I have said at the beginning and end, that it wants other correctives, I will submit it to those which you may judge proper, having nothing more at heart than your approbation." And in a further letter to Priuli he declares that he had entered upon the blamable part of the king's character with the utmost reluctance, and that he had been persuaded to do so only by his great desire to promote Henry's welfare, which could never be done unless the king himself were brought to a sense of his faults. "How (he says) can this be done unless they are placed before his eyes? Who will undertake this except myself?"

In his *Apologia* Pole declares that he read over the book before sending it to England, not without some thoughts of suppressing it, but that finding certain leaves which contained the sharpest strictures on the king's character cut out, he suspected that they had been purloined by some of his enemies for the purpose of sending them to Henry and doing him injury, and he therefore determined to forward the book as it was to the king.

He adds that with the book he sent to the king a letter full of

printed by Mr J. P. Collier, in 1871, with the title "*Nine Historical Letters of the Reign of Henry VIII.*", written by Reginald Pole, Thomas Cromwell, Michael Throckmorton, and Thomas Starkey. Copied from the originals." There is another copy of Throckmorton's letters in MS. Cott., Nero, B. vi.

affection and duty, assuring him that what was written was written to him alone, and had been shown to none whose knowledge of the matter could cause any harm or danger; that he himself would suppress the work so long as he saw any hopes of being able to acknowledge in a more pleasing argument how much he was indebted to the king for his education and so many other marks of the royal bounty.¹

At the same time he alludes to the fact that some of his statements had been called in question, and defies any person to point out a single false statement.²

Pole seems, however, to have at least partially regretted the tone of the book, for not all the injuries inflicted on him by Henry could induce him to allow it to be printed, nor was it till after a German bookseller had published an unauthorized and incorrect version from a pirated copy that he in self-defence consented to the publication of a true and authorized edition.

As to the delay in forwarding the book, Pole in his *Apologia* seems to wish it to be understood that he was anxious, if possible, to escape the necessity of sending it at all, but had, as he says, seized the opportunity presented by the death of Ann Boleyn, because then he felt that the king would either wander beyond all hopes of reformation or, if addressed in time, might be induced to return to the laudable paths which he had forsaken.

But such a surprise was this treatise to Henry, who had been led by Starkey to be firmly convinced that its contents would be favourable to his cause, that the natural result was the disgrace of the latter. Starkey himself, it is clear, was astonished beyond measure, and there is not the slightest reason to believe that in raising such hopes in the king's mind he was influenced by any other motive than a sincere belief in their fulfilment.

Starkey, on the receipt of the book, acting as Pole's true friend, desired that it might be committed to the judgment of some learned

¹ See Phillips's *Life of Reginald Pole*, Vol. I. p. 136. This cannot mean the letter printed above, p. xxxi, but may refer to the *Additional instructions* already mentioned, in which he professes the strongest attachment to the king and the greatest desire to please him.

² *Apologia ad Angl. Parliamentum*, I. 179.

men, who should read and impartially report on it. To this the king assented, and Starkey himself was joined with them.

§ 13. But though all the committee seem to have been friends of Pole, yet when they came to read the book, so strong was its language and so full did it appear to be of ingratitude towards the king, his friend and patron, that they could not but be struck with surprise, sorrow, and indignation. Starkey especially was thunderstruck; all his hopes and his confident expectations were so rudely dashed to the ground that he, with the others, could scarcely believe the book to be Pole's own writing. He asked to be allowed to read it over privately alone, and did so carefully and seriously, as he says, with the result that after consideration of the whole matter he came to the conclusion that it was "the most frantyke iugement" that ever he had read of any learned man. He therefore writes as follows to Pole, expostulating and arguing with him (MS. Cott. Cleopatra, E. VI., leaf 365):¹—

(1) Much I haue maruelyd, Master Pole, al thys yere past bothe of your sylدون & schort wrytyng to me, consyderyng the contynual dylygence vsyd apon my behalfe euer toward you, and though of late at the fyrst cumyng of your seruant² when he brought your boke I jugyd that you perauenture wrote not, bycause you * were so occupyd, in the fyrst setting out³ of your mater in wrytyng to the kyngys hyghnes, wherin you had byn before tyme somewhat slakke & so had lytyl leysure, yet now at hys second retorne, when you wrote to dyuerse other of your frendys I lokyd to haue had some one word wryten vnto me for that me thought our frenschype requyryd. Wherfore then I bega[n] playnly wyth my selfe to juge your mynde wythout cause aljenate as me thought, and most justely I myght accuse you of vnkyndnes, wych vsyd toward me such contynual sylence; for thys I haue euer rekenyd, that dyuersyte of opynyon in such thyngys wych perteyne not of necessity to mannys saluatyon, schold neuer brek loue & amyte betwyx them wych haue iugement &

Abstract.

(1) Expresses the disappointment which he had felt in not receiving any letters from Pole, the reason for which neglect he had

¹ This letter has been considerably condensed, as it has already been printed by Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*, I. pt. ii. No. lxxxi.

² Thockmorton, who was afterwards gained over to the king's side, and used as a spy upon Pole's actions.

³ MS., wold gyue no occasyon of blame *crossed out*, and the words between * written over.

dyscretiye, no more than doth dulnes or scharpenes in the syght of the ye, wherin one frend to be angry wyth a nother bycause he sethe ferther or not so fer as dothe he, ys veray smal reson, for as the one schold cause no anger so the other schold brede no enuye ; so that although I varyd from you in the iugement of the mater, yet your sylence declaryd much ingratytude toward me. (2) And thys count I made before I rede your boke, but aftur such tyme as I dyd rede the same & weyd your iugement therin I was no thyng sory of thys your sylence, but rather glad that you so vsyd yourselfe toward me, for hys letturys to rede, who hathe so lytyl regard of hys masturys honowre & so lytyl respecte of hys frendys & cuntrey as in your wrytyng you playnly declaryd, I haue lytyl plesure. Wherfor though of late I had determ[yn]yd neuer to wryte you agayne, yet aftur I had rede your boke I was so affectyd, and wyth your ingratytude toward our prynce and cuntre so offendyd, that I could not tempur myselte nor satsfye my mynde wythout some declaratyon therof by wrytyng to you schowyd. And so now euen as you semyd to me illa tua oratione principem et patriam tuo quidem iudicio pereuntem extremis quasi verbis compellare, so schal I te insanientem mea sententia amicam extrema quasi voce salutari, for thys ¹ I purpos schal be the last lettur that euer I schal hereaftur to you wryte donec resipiscas. Wherin I wyl not entur to dyspute the ground of the mater wych requyryth rather a boke then a lettur, but only I schal a lytyl open to you, the grete imprudence & foly, the detestabul vnkyndnes & Iniury schowyd in your sentence bothe toward your prynce frendys & cuntrey. By the reson wherof except you take hede & consydur the mater in tyme wyth bettur Iugement, wyth that contempt of your cuntrey & thys arrogant dyspysyng of al the iugementys therin, you schal vturly cast away your selfe. (3) Wherfore, Master Pole, I schal pray you by al such loue as I haue euer borne to you, wych I promyse you ys gretur than euer I bare to any natural brother, to here me a lytyl & wey my wordys indyfferently. And fyrst, Master Pole, how I was affectyd wyth the redyng of youre boke I schal a lytyl touche. At such tyme as your boke was delyueryd to the kyng though you wrote not to me, I, forgettyng not the offyce of a frend, requyryd that your boke myght be commytted to the examynacyon of them wych bothe had lernyng to iuge & wold wey the mater indyfferently, the wych I

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been unable to imagine. (2) But after reading of his book he felt glad that Pole had not written, for there could be no pleasure in the letters of one who showed such base ingratitude towards his prince. This, therefore, is to be his last letter to Pole, which (3) he begs him to weigh seriously. When his book arrived he had asked that it should be referred to a committee of learned men, to whom he was joined. So shocked had he felt when it was read, that it seemed to

¹ Leaf 365, back.

promys you was done, and to them I, as your frend was joynyd also ; in the redyng wherof, though we louyd you al intyerly, yet your corrupt jugement in the mater & your detestabul vnkyndnes toward your prynce so offend[yd] vs al, that many tymys our yerys abhorryd the heryng ; and as for me, I promys you at the fyrst redyng I was so amasyd & astonyd wyth the mater that I coude not wel juge, I wist not with what spryte hyt was wryten wythal, and euer me thought hyt schold be some dreme, or at the lest no oratyon of Master Pole, whome I euer notyd to be the moste addycte to the honowre of hys prynce & the welth of hys cuntre that euer yet I knew. (4) Wherefore I obtaynyd your boke to ouer rede myselfe alone, ye aftur yet wyth my lord of Durham I rede hyt most dyligently, obseruyng & notyng the hole ordur & processe therof, & when I had redde hyt aftur thys maner I was more astonyd then I was before, for then comparyng the hede to the end & consyderyng the hole cyrcumstance of the mater, playnly to say to you euer as I thynke, therin¹ apperyd to me the most frantyke jugement that euer I rede of any leryd man in my lyfe ; for herin lyth the summe of your boke : bycause we are slyppyd from the obedyence of rome, you juge vs to be separate from the vnyte of the church & to be no membrys of the catholyke body, but to be worse then Turkys or Sarasynys. Wherefore you rayle apon our prynce to bryng hym ad penitentiam more vehemently then euer dyd Gregory agayn Julyan apostata, or any other agayn such tyrannys as persecu[t]yd Chrystys doctryne. . . .

(5)² I marveyle that you consyduyd not, how the veray chrystyen vnyte stondyth aftur sayn Poulys doctryne in the vnyte of fayth, & of spyryt & in a certayn knyttyng togyddur of our hartys by loue & charyte : wych may rest in al kynd of pollycey, for dowteles thys superyoryte of some sprange fyrst of pollycey, as hyt ys euident by old story, for Constantyn was he that gaue therto fyrst authoritye of al such power & superyoryte, wych by other was contynuyd & incresyd, and so, as hyt began by mannys wyt & instytutyon, I thynke hyt schal end by lyke reson : for in the expresse wyll & word of god hyt hathe no such rote and ground as to you hyt apperyth. . . .

³ And as touchyng the placys of scripture wherby you confyrme the prymacy, you folow the vulgayre trayn of the latur docturys, wych violently draw them to the setting vp of the see of Rome, forgettyng the purpos of the ancyent docturys of our relygyon ; the wych, exalt-

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him some horrible dream. (4) He had, therefore, obtained leave to read it over alone, but could only think it the most "frantyke jugement" he had ever read. (5) The supremacy of the Pope, as being an institution of man, could also be put an end to by man's authority ; that the old doctors, in exalting *sedem romanam et cathedram Petri*, meant thereby the faith which Peter taught at Rome, as is testified

¹ MS., thyerin.

² Leaf 366.

³ Leaf 366, back.

ying *sedem romanam* & *cathedram Petri*, euer ment therby, *fidem quam petrus pre ceteris professus est*, et Rome docuit; and for bycause the fayth of Chryst ther toke most notabul increase & from thens was deryuyd to the west parte of the world, therfore thydur was euer in al dowyty chiefe recourse, & that see was most praysyd & preferryd aboue other, as a place of conseyll & not of hygher powar & authoryte. Thys testyfyth Jerome, Cypriane, wyth al the antyquyte. . . .

¹ Al your sharpe wordys vsyd in thys mater contrary to your *masters* honowre, declare in you a meruelouse blynd & a corrupt iugement with wonderful ingratitude toward your prynce & cuntre. Whereof, *master Pole*, what inward sorow I haue conceyuyd yf I schold here be about to open vnto you, I schold, I thynke, labour in vayne & of you *perauenture* be lytyl beleuyd. . . .

(6) ² But I trust, *Mayster Pole*, hereaftur the loue of your owne cuntre, and bownden dewty to your souerayn lord & *master* schal so preuayle in your stomake, that you in tyme retractyng your sentence schal to your grete comfort inoy the same quiet. For sorowful I schal be to see you persyste in any such sentence & foly wherby you schold refoose to come to the prescence of your prynce & perpetually to lake the fruytyon of your natural frendys & cuntrey.

(7) And where as of late I here the bysch[op] of Rome hath inuytyd you to consulte wyth hym apon a conseyll general, I wold aduyse you as one of your most louyng frendys to consydur the cause wel before you apply, & loke wel to the offyce wych you owe to your prynce, & suffur not your *conscience* to be bounde wyth any superstycyouse knot conceyuyd by folysch scrupulosyte. For yf you iuge your selfe more to be bounden to that forayn byschoppe then to your natural souerayn lord, you schal of al wyse men, I thynke, be jugyd to lake a grete parte of witt & more of vertue & honestye: you schal be jugyd playnly to be blyndyd wyth some grete affectyon & to be an vntrue subyecte vn-to your mastur and an open enemy to your countrey, whome you say you loue so intyerly. Consydur therfore thys mater wyth your selfe ³ernystly, for ther hangyth more therapon then I feare me you wel conceyue: for thys one thyng I schal say to you, wych I pray fasten in your brest, that yf you folow the breues of the pope to you directid & besy your self to set forth the sentence wych you haue wryten to the kyng, blowyng vp that authoryte wyth such

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by Jerome, Cyprian, and others. (6) But he trusts that Pole's love for his country will induce him to retract his opinion, and (7) warns Pole that his ingratitude to Henry will, if persisted in, be ascribed to some sinister motive, and that if he makes public the book which he has written to the king he will be judged to be as great a traitor and as false to his country as ever any one has been.

¹ Leaf 368, back.

² Leaf 369.

³ Leaf 369, back.

arrogancy, you schalbe notyd in the chrystyan commynwele to be as sedycyouse a person & mynystur, as grete a breche to chrystyan vnyte, as euer hathe doone ¹ any other in our days ¹ wyth ² rashnes & temeryte: For as sedycyouse ys he wych al old custumys & vsagys of the church defendyth ouer obstinatly as he that wythout dyscretyon subvertyth al rashely. . . .

(8) Nec tibi, Pole, ita imponas ut cum tuearis hanc pontificis auctoritatem negocium christi te agere putes: ego certe vereor ne dum hec agas christum plane deseras. Quid enim aliud est christum deserere quam optimo principi qui in bonis artibus te liberaliter educavit in honestissimis mandatis non obtemperare? Quam dulcissime patrie que te aluit operam tuam denegare: parentibus et clarissimis amicis humani hominis officia non prestare? At dices, et princeps et patria christum deseruere. O Pole, quam insauis, si propter vnum pontificem desertum nos christum deseruisse arbitrare. Ego profecto spero fore ut post hanc a pontifice defectionem, arctius christo hereamus. Lapsus es, Pole, ab officio humani hominis, qui ob tam leuem causam patriam et parentes et optimum principem deseris; sed ignorancia plane lapsus es, cui ego omnes omnium errores iuxta Platonem tribuere soleo.³

§ 14. In spite, however, of all Starkey's exertions, so great was the king's disappointment, and so strong his resentment against Pole, that, as I have said, Starkey soon found that he had lost his position in the king's favour. He seems further to have given cause for a certain

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(8) In upholding the supremacy of the Pope he is not upholding the cause of Christ; rather, in deserting his country and his king, he opposes that cause. Such forgetfulness of the natural duty of man he can only ascribe to ignorance, the source of all errors.

¹—¹ *Written over Martyn Luther, erased.*

² *hys after wyth erased.*

³ Of this letter there are two copies amongst the State Papers in the Record Office: one corresponding exactly with the above, the other evidently a first draft, at the end of which Starkey has written the following note:—

“Collens presens cum polo cum scripsit librum confessus est mihi coram morisone se audiuisset sepius ab eo, quod eo tempore cum primum scribere cepit iussus a rege, auctoritatem pontificis pro constitutione humana & pro ἀδιαφώρω habuit, ceterum ubi ad scribendum appulit animum aliud didicit, edoctus diuino spiritu a quo precibus & genibus flexis optinuit certe veritatis cognitionem quam unam tuetur & scriptis defendit.

1537 January 12.

Scripsit librum suum suspicatus gallum quendam suffuratum vnum ex suis quaternionibus, quem tamen postea reperit, iraque motus erat tumulti nostri ex morte regine ut quidam putarunt.”

This, it will be seen, agrees with the account given by Pole himself; see p. xxxii, above.

amount of suspicion, because when preaching against the Pope he had, in the opinion of the court, used too great mildness, and had not spoken against the papal claim of supremacy with sufficient sharpness. For this he appears to have been strongly taken to task, a circumstance which caused him great disquiet and alarm, as we see by the following letter:¹—

(? July 1536.)

My Lord, your wordys haue goone through my hart, the wych more greuously stroke me *cumyng* from you, in whose gudnes I was as much persuayd to trust as I was in any manys in erthe; wherefore such wordys as cam from you haue more tormentyd my hart, then schold haue doone so many swordys, and yf I were not comfortyd wyth thys, that I thynke surely that the scharpenes of them sprange of a certayn loue borne toward me before tyme (the wych schalbe restoryd, the truthe knowen) I wold haue iugyd them intollerabul, specyally consyderyng my innocency in such thyngys wyche you touchyd so scharpely. To the wych I wyl say but thys one word:— proue that I haue dyssemblyd but in one word wyth you or wyth the kyng, & wythout iugement stryke of my heed. And as *concernyng* my *prechyng* I beseche you let me not be oppressyd *with* any wronge informatyon, but here what other men wyl say wych were also ther present, and then accordynly I besech you let the mater be consyderyd; for yf I haue not bothe wryten & spoken such thyngys wych wel ponderyd schold bothe set forthe the truthe, & also rather quyt then increse sedycyon, let me suffur dethe wythout ferther delay. And as touchyng the corrupt iugement of the sorowful man, I beseche you impute not to me any parte of hys foly, wych hathe alredy more greuyd me, then euer yet hathe doone the dede of any man lyuyng apon erthe. And where as you thynke I study a mean doctryne for myn owne glory, I know not yet, my lord, what you mean, for I haue studyd to exhort & moue men from suche extremyte, wherby they are styrryd to flye theyr obedyence to the kyngys lawys, & to such other thyngys as by the consent of our cuntre are set forthe to the opennyng of goddys truthe & hys relygyon. I forge no mean but that wych I fynd wryten in goddys worde, and approuyd by the iugement of our clergy. Trothe hyt ys that I can not frame my iugement to plesse al men, beyng in such varyety of sentence & controuersye, for some *perauenture* yet thynke truthe to be treyson, & some *perauenture* that hyt ys here-ye, betwyx whome I stond, & wyl so long as I schal stond in thys lyfe, from thys truthe you schal fynd me my lord to be no sterter, wauerar, nor hengar in the wynd, for thys ys goddys truthe, lying

¹ *State Papers in the Public Record Office, Henry VIII., 1535-7.* This letter bearing no address, it is difficult to say whether it was written to Cromwell, who was now Lord Privy Seal, or to Cranmer, but probably it was to the former.

betwyx thes sedycyouse extremytes. But hereof I wyl now speke no more, only thys, besechyng you to be myn indyfferent gud lord, & let not my truthe and innocency be other wyse taken then hyt deseruyth.

This letter, which bears evident signs of having been written in great haste, and in a state of agitation, appears to have produced some effect; for, as we gather from the following letter, both Cromwell and Cranmer seem to have tried to console him, and assure him that he had not forfeited the king's favour. Starkey, however, thought it advisable to enter into a fuller defence of his own conduct, and again writes to Cromwell: ¹—

(24 July, 1536.)

(1) My lord, though as wel by the relatyon of my lord of Canterbury as also by the few wordys wych you spake to me the last day at Stepney I am restoryd to a greate parte of the quyetnes of my mynd, for as much as therby I am persuadyd fully that you toke my purpos & intent euen as hyt was, & that you be my gud lord aftur your wont & custumyd maner, yet throughly quyetyd I nother am, nother yet can be, vntyl I may be assuryd that the kyng, my souerayn lord & mastur, ys by no wrong informatyon, nor contrary suspycyon, otherwyse persuadyd of me then my hart, wyl, & dedys deserue; for albehyt that the testimony of myn owne conseyence be in dede suffeycent to conturvayle agayn al owtward displeasure, yet to my wekenes & infyrmyte hyt ys no smal grefe to be in dowte that my lord & mastur otherwyse schold Iuge me then my hart deseruyth; the wych also ys much more grefe to me, bycause that I am wel assuryd, bothe by the kyngys owne wordys, & also by hys deedys, that he was gud lord to me & gracyouse. (2) Wherefore, syns ther ys of my parte no occasyon gyuen to the contrary, but rather cause why hys gudnes schold be increasyd toward me & benevolence, for as much as I haue trauaylyd to put in effect such thyngys as were of hys grace wel approuyd & alowyd, the wych before tyme I by wrytyng only touchyd; that ys to say to indeur my selfe to the inducyng of hys pepul to theyr offyce & dewty concernyng the obedyence of hys lawys, & the conceuyng of such thyngys as were set forthe for the mayn-

Abstract.

(1) Although his mind had been considerably quieted by the words of Cromwell and Cranmer, yet he cannot feel perfectly easy until he has been satisfied that the king's feelings towards him have not changed; especially since (2) he had given no reason for any such change, but had always laboured earnestly in the king's service.

¹ MS. Cleopatra, E. VI., leaf 370.

tenance of goddys truthe, al the wych consydneyd I can not but sorow & playnly confesse my wekenes & Imbecyllite vttruly to be vnabul to bere & susteyne of my souerayn lord any contrary suspceyon. (3) Wherefore, my lord, I schal besech you, as you be my specyal gud lord, so to declare hyt now at thys tyme, & not to suffur my purpos & desyre, wych I haue long nuryschyd in my hart to serue my master withal now to be hyndred & drownyd wyth any wrong Informatyon, nor to be blottyd wyth an other mannys acte, wherof I neuer mynys-tryd occasyon, for of your lordschyppe I take wytnes that I neuer studyd nor laburyd thyng more ernystely then I dyd to brynge that man, for whose faute I now perceyue I am blamyd, to hys offyce & dewtye, & to plukke from hym al sturdy obstynacy. And where as perauenture hyt may be thought that I was the occasyon of the demandyng of hys sentence, you know, my lord, hyt was an occasyon taken, & not apon my behalfe gyuen, for I neuer mouyd the kyng nor yet you to the inserchyng of hys iugement at any tyme; trothe thys ys, that I neuer thought hym to be of so corrupt a iugement & sentence in thys mater of the primacy, & therof I put you in hope & expectatyon, & so I dyd the kyng also, aftur he had commandyd me to wryte vn-to hym hys plesure & request, of the wych hope that I am so deceyuyd, he lyuythe not wych ys more sorowful then am I, not hys owne mother wych bare hym, & now repentyth of hys ¹ bryngyng forthe to lyght, nor yet hys most dere brother, who by hys acte ys depriuuyd of a grete comfort of hys lyfe; therefore, my lord, to blame me for hys deede can not be wythout grete Iniury. (4) And as touchyng my owne iugement of thys prymacy, thys I may say truly, that yf ther be any man wythin thys reame, wych ought to want suspceyon of thys mater, but syncerely dothe approue hyt without dyssymulatyon, I thynke I may be of that nombur: for of thys, my lord, I schal assure you (& you schal neuer fynd me faynyd man) that before thys mater was mouyd here in our cuntre, I much & oft desyryd hyt to be reformyd, consyderyng the damnabul abusys annexyd therto, in so much that I was then notyd & blamyd of many men wych otherwyse iugyd, and thys I onys declaryd vn-to the kyng, before whome I neuer yet dyssymyllyd, nor neuer schal duryng thys lyfe. And though perauenture some such wych know the famylyaryte betwyx Master Pole & me, (whose amyte & frezschype I dyd not a lytyl estyme,² so long as he forsoke not the iugement of hys cuntre, the seruyce of hys souerayne lord, & loue to hys natural frendys,) haue inducyd you to an iniuryouse suspceyon,

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(3) Hopes that he may not have to suffer for Pole's offence, as the application for Pole's opinion was not made at his suggestion. (4) It is unfair to accuse him, of all men, of opposing the king's supremacy,

¹ Leaf 370, back.

² MS. extyme.

yet, my lord, he lyuythe not & lokyth¹ upon the lyght that euer schal iustifye in me toward my lord & mastur any poynt of dyssymulatyon. Wherefore, my lord, yf I schold other wyse be taken, hyt were no smal grefe to me stondyng in thys truthe & synceryte. (5) And as *concernyng* my *prechyng* one word I am yet *constraynyd* to speke to you agayne, & I am *constraynyd* by the desyre that I haue to the setting forth of the truthe, not mouyd by any vayn glory, the word ys thys—that yf myn intent & purpos in my *prechyng* had byn wel taken, & indyfferently consyderyd, I schold rather haue byn judgyd worthy of thankys, wch I sought not, then of reproche, wch I deseruyd not. For, my lord, you know hyt is not the ryght way of *prechyng* to bryng men therby vn-to the lyght wythe grete reprofys to condemne theyr blyndnes sodaynly, but that ys the way rather to exasperate mennys hartys & so to *confirme* them in theyr fol[ly] more stedfastly. Wherefore, my lord, I haue wyschyd many tymys lately, & for the loue that I bere to the truthe, & to the quyetnes of [the] cite, wherin I haue chosyn my dwellyng-place, I doo yet wysch dayly such *precharys* to be electyd, chosyn & pykyd out, wch wythout *contentyon* & studye of glory schold set forth the truthe sincerely, & aftur the *conseyll* of sayn Poule in thyngys indyfferent schold haue *consyderatyon* of the wekenes of men & infyrmyte, wherby they schold *promote* & auance the truthe with charyte, & not exasperat[e] & styr one parte to the hate of the other by lyght suspicyon & folysch *contentyon* mouyd upon such thyngys wch be indyfferent, & no thyng necessary to mannys saluatyon. Such *prechyng*, my lord, as me semyth, were much to be desyryd, & now in thys tyme most speecially, wherin the kyng & you wyth hys other *conseyllarys* studye the setting forth of such *temperyd* doctryne, wherof, as I am *persuadyd* al our cuntre ought not a lytyl to reyoce. (6) For the doctryne of our cuntre ys now

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since he had always most strongly laboured for it. (5) As to his preaching, he ought rather to have been commended than blamed for the course he had followed, and if other preachers would follow his example they would more advance the cause of truth and charity. (6) He has devoted himself to preaching solely with a view to helping forward the new doctrine, of the truth of which he is so

¹ Compare *P. Plowman*, B. viii. 58 :—

“If I may *lyue and loke* I shal go lerne bettere.”

The phrase is one which Langland frequently uses; see also C. xxi. 29; xxii. 159 and 175; and, as has been pointed out by Warton and Prof. Skeat, is “one of those primitive figures which are common to the poetry of every country;” the former quoting the following parallel expression from Homer, *Iliad*, I. 88 :—

Οὔτις, ἐμὲν ζῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο,
Σοὶ κύβλης παρὰ νηυσὶ βαρόντας χεῖρας ἐπούσει.

so *tempryd* in *truthe*, that *hyt ys bothe purgyd* ¹ from the old abusys & folysche *superstycyon* & also defendyd from the errorys of thys tyme & from al false relyggon, the wych thyng hathe causyd me now so to apply myself to *prechyng*, & I wytnes god no gloryouse desyre of fame and vanyte; for yf I were persuadyd that thys doctryne, approuyd in our cuntre, were erroneouse, I wold yet rather lose my lyfe shortly, then be one of thos wych schold set forthe the same openly. Nor thynke you not, my lord, that I am so bleryd wyth the schadowys of thys lyfe, that I *preferre* the lyfe among them aboue the lyght of the *truthe*, nother yet that I am *neque frigidus neque calidus sed tepidus* ² in the setting forthe therof, as *perauenture* by some informatyon you may conceyue, for *hyt ys my dayly prayer to hym* that ys the fountayn of lyght that I may by hys benefyte bothe see the *truthe* & also *constanly* to stond in the defence of the same, wherin I trust he dothe & wyl maynteyne & strength me continually, & gyue me hys grace not to stond therein coldly. And though, my lord, you iuge me more to be traynyd in philosophye than in the trade of scripture & in the wrytarys therapon, wherin *perauenture* your lordschype jugyth not much a mys, yet thys I schal to you, my lord, say, & I schal say *hyt without al arrogancy*, that of the continual redyng of scripture *hyt selfe*, wherin *certayn yerys* I haue accustomyd my selfe, I haue gedderyd a *certayn iugement*, wherwyth I long haue examynynd such wrytarys as I haue rede therapon, from the wych I purpos not to slyppe duryng thys lyfe, & in case I fele the wrytarys of thys tyme to swarue from the same, I haue them suspectyd, for in the old authorys I fynd therto a grete conformyte.

(7) The summe of my iugement tendyth to thes ij poyntys, fyrst to a contempt of thys lyfe & of the vayn plesurys therof, & to a sure trust & confydence of an other, loking vp alway to thos thyngys wych are not seen wyth a clere ye not dasylllyd wyth the glyteryng of such thyngys as are present & subyeete to our syght: the other ys, to a *certayne vnyte & concord*, ye & to a *certayn bande & knott of charyte*, wherby men must knytt them selfys togyddur as membrys of one body, & walke in an obedyence to the ordur of the world, despysyng al thyngys wych other men so much contende & stryfe for, & beryng al trowblus wyth patyence & humylyte. To thes ij poyntys tendyth my iugemente geddryd of scripture, the wych though they may *perauenture* appere vulgare & *commyn* & to be but of smal moment & weyght, yet by them I doo examyn al the wrytyngys, sayinges, & doyingys of thys tyme, the wych not sauoryng herof I doo viturly condemne, & wyl doo whyle I lyue; for I abhorre al such sedycyouse actes & doctryne,

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firmlly convinced. (7) From his earnest study of Scripture he has conceived a contempt for the things of this world, and a sure trust

¹ Leaf 371.

² MS. *trepidus*.

wych, vnder the *pretense* & colowre of the *truthe*, mouythe apon tryfullys such *controuersye*, wherby ys broken the ordur of chrystyan charyte. Wherefore, my lord, I doo not a lytyl reyoyce to see how among¹ vs in our cuntre by the *commyn* consent of our clergy maynteynyd & confyrmyd al true ecclesiastycal pollycy, & no notabul nor necessary ordur broken nor infryngyd by the plukkyng away of thys *primacy* as many men gretly fearyd. In so much, my lord, that yf I may in thys rest of my lyfe be in any parte a mynystur to set forthe thys ordur approuyd by the iugement of my cuntre, wyth concord & vnyte, I schal thynke myselfe not to be borne vturly in vayne. (8) Wherefore, my lord, I besech yóu, as you iuge me to be one of thos wych intende to *serue* my mastur & cuntre faythfully, so to helpe that my hart wyl & mynd may be taken of my souerayn lord, as hyt ys syncerely, wherby I may be the bettur incurragyd to doo that thyng wych *perteynyth* to myn offyce & dewty, to the wych I schal indeuur myselfe most dilygently, strenghtyd, as I trust, by hym who *gouernyth* al, to whose *gouernance* I schal now *commytt* your lordschyppe, besechyng you to pardon me of thys importunyte, to the wych I am by sorow constraynynd.

Wrytyn at London, the 24 of Iuly.

Your lordschyppys
Thomas Starkey.

To the most honorabul &
my synguler gud lord
my lord pryuy seale.

Henry's chief fear was lest Pole should publish his book, and he therefore deemed it expedient to conceal his indignation for a time at least. By his orders a message was sent to Pole desiring him to return to England, in order that certain passages in his book which appeared obscure might be explained. Pole, however, declined to trust himself in the lion's den, writing as follows to the king:—

“Your grace thatt callyth me hath putt such an impedymente in my waye thatt lettyth me. I can nott passe to your grace except temerarioulye I wold caste away my-selfe. This surelye & truelye afore god and man I may saye that beyng yn thatt case I myght go or ronne, your grace callyng me vnto yowe, there ys no lett yn thys world were able to retayne me from comyng to your grace but onely thatt procedyth off your selfe.”²

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and confidence in things above. (8) He therefore hopes that he may be allowed to do the duty of his office, and thus to help forward the cause which has been approved by the country.

¹ Leaf 371, back.

² MS. Cott., Cleop., E. VI., leaf 328.

Pole had asked that Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, whom he speaks of as a "sad and learned man," might be allowed to read and report on his book, declaring that it was not so bad as had been represented. To this the king assented, but the bishop, after a perusal of the treatise, could only corroborate the opinions already formed of it, and wrote to that effect to Pole (MS. Cleop., E. VI., leaf 375).

On the 26th July, 1536, the day before Pole received this letter from the bishop, the Pope sent a message to him inviting him to Rome. Pole, who had now committed himself to the papal party, after some little hesitation accepted the invitation, and sent notice to Henry of his intention of doing so. Starkey, as we have seen (p. xxxvii), remonstrated strongly and in no measured terms against such a proceeding, and so did Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, Pole's own friend, while Cromwell stormed and threatened:

§ 15. In spite, however, of the remonstrances of Starkey and Tunstall, and the threats of Cromwell, Pole repaired to Rome,¹ and on the 22nd December was created cardinal by Paul III. Previous to his elevation to that dignity becoming officially known in England, Starkey wrote as follows to him, in answer to a letter in which he seems to have complained of the manner in which Starkey had remonstrated with him against accepting the invitation to the Vatican: ²—

(26 January, 1537.)

(1) Sory I am, *Maystur* Pole, that bothe my *sentence* & *scharpenes* of *wrytyng* vsyd to you, *heryng* of your *jorney* toward Rome, offendyd your stomake so much & toke so lytyl effect, for albehyt

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(1) Expresses his regret that his plain speaking in a former letter should have given offence, which he assures him sprang only from a sincere love towards him and his family, and a fear lest he should

¹ Strype says he was accompanied by Lupset, but according to Tanner the latter died on December 27th, 1532, at the age of 36, and was buried in the church of St Alphege, Cripplegate. He had been appointed to the living of St Martin's, Ludgate, in 1529, and the last mention of him which I find in the *State Papers* is on 1st August, 1530, on which day he was presented by Wolsey to the Rectory of Cheriton, Hants. Starkey himself, in his Dedication of the *Dialogue* to Henry VIII., printed below, tells us he was dead then.

² MS. Cleopatra, E. VI., leaf 363.

that you perauenture iugyng me herein otherwyse then my nature requyryth, so knowen vn-to you by long *conuersatyon*, thynke playnly that I am corrupt wyth affectyon & wrote contrary to myn owne *conscience*, blyndyd wyth ambycyon, yet thys I schal say vn-to you, & cal hym to wytnes who ys pryuy bothe of your thought & myn, that as the *sentence* where in I stond spryngyth of the only zeale of the truthe, & of the desyre of the setting foithe of goddys honowre & glory, so the scharpenes of my wrytyng vsyd toward you cam of the syncere loue wch I bare to you & to your famly, for I am nother so grosse & base of iugement as to preferre any wordly vanyte, aboue that thyng wch apperyth to me truth & veryte, nother yet so vnkynd as to vse such scharpenes to my frend wythout resonabul ground; for at such tyme as apon the declaryng of your *sentence* to the kyng you tendyd to Rome, I then, conceyuyng as wel apon the one *parte* the Increase of the scysme styrryd in chrystys church wch myght iusew therby, yf you schold ther open your iugement in your wrytyng comprysyd abroad to the world, as apon the other *parte* the dysplesure of your prynce wch myght succede the same both toward you & other of your famly, thought hyt expedient to vse such scharpenes, & that so to doo hyt perteynyd to my bounden dewtye, to the wch you may impute hyt, yf hyt so please you. (2) But now, scharpenes set asyde, I schal say vn-to you, *Maystur Pole*, thes ij wordys frendly ¹mouyd by such thyngys wch I lately herd from you: though here be greate rumors spreadde abroad that you be namyd to be a cardinal, & entryd in to that ordur, by the wch the doctryne of chryst thes many yerys hathe byn lytyl promotyd, yet persua dyd I am fully, that the loue of your cuntre so stykkythe in your brest, & the desyre of *seruyng* your prynce so prykkyth your hart, that you wyl neuer accept that dygnyte before you *consydur* wel the state of Chrystys church now in thys tyme, weying wel the plesure of your mastere & bounden dewty to hys gracyouse gudnes & liberalyte. For to me hyt apperythe that wythout such *consyderatyon* you take not the streyght pathe to that thyng to the wch aboue al other I am sure you dyrecte your laburys & studys, that ys to helpe to plukke out thys scysme of

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make matters worse by publishing his book. (2) It had been rumoured that Pole was named to be a cardinal, but he is fully persuaded that Pole's love for his country and his king is too strong to allow him to accept that dignity at the present time, for by so doing he would only widen the breach already existing. He therefore hopes that Pole will consider the matter earnestly before he accepts that dignity, and that the division in the Church may soon be healed.

¹ Leaf 363, back.

Chrystys church & to restore agayne chrystyan vnyte, but rather hyt semyth the veray hygh way to augment thys dyuysyon, for as much as by such wyttys & eloquence the rootys therof may be much confyrmyd. Wherefore, *Maystur Pole*, yf you stey yourselfe in thys mater, I thynke you schal hereaftur no thyng repent therof, for though materys of our cuntr[ey] haue byn here lately in greate motyon, the wych you *perauenture* wyl impute to thys defectyon from Rome, iugyng vs therby to be slyppyd from goddys ordur & instytutyon, yet by the hygh prouydence of hym who gouernyth al, & by the greate wysedome & gudnes of our prynce I trust you schal yet here such way to be founde & taken herein, that euen the same thyng, wych you *percas* thynke hathe¹ byn the chefe roote of thys motyon, schalbe so *tempryd* & ordryd wyth equitye that not only the synceryte of Chrystys doctryne schal come to more clere lyght therby, but also the ordur of Chrystys church schalbe restoryd agayn wyth vnyte, accordyng to the fyrst instytutyon, wherof that my hope ys not vayn I trust you schal here more schortly. And glad I wold be to see you a *mynystur* to god & to your prynce in such purpos, the wych I feare you schal neuer be yf you onys entur in to that ordur at Rome & take apon you that dygnyte. Wherefore, *Maystur Pole*, my trust ys that you wyl consydur thys mater wyth your selfe ernystely; and yet greate hope I haue that honest iugementys schal onys mete togyddur in such a mean wherby thys odyouse seysme wych now reynyth in Chrystys church schalbe extynct vtturly, for the wych I schal not cesse to pray vn-to hym who ys the only author of al godly vnyte, to whose gouernance I schal now commytt vs al.

Wryten at London the 26 of Ianuary.

Yourys yet I trust after the
old maner, Ts. Starkey.

§ 16. It would appear to be about this time that Starkey wrote the following letter to Henry VIII., in which he expresses his fear lest the "corrupt sentence of *Maystur Pole*" should turn to his disgrace and injury. He pleads his own case most earnestly (pp. xlix, l.), declaring his sorrow and disappointment at the unforeseen result and the ingratitude of Pole towards one by whom he had been most liberally and nobly brought up, and defends himself against the accusations or suspicions to which I have already referred. He then (p. li) enters into a general consideration of the king's policy, expressing his pleasure (p. liii) at the suppression of the monasteries, and his earnest hope that Henry would apply the great revenues which would now fall into his hands for the promotion of learning,

¹ Leaf 364.

and not hand them over to a few rich nobles. He draws a sad picture of the state of England at the time (p. lvii), "the rare and smal nombur of cytes & townys, & of the commyn decay & ruyne of the same," and the "grete lake & penury of pepul and inhabitantys in the cytes & townys & hole countrey, the wych lake," he thinks, "may in some part be redressyd & helpyn by thys acte of suppressyon. For where as before tyme in these monasterys was nurysschyd a multytude of men lyuyng vnnmaryd, & dowteles many in vnclene lyfe, to the grete dishonowre of god & let of natural propagatyon," now by the suppression of the monasteries, and the consequent scattering abroad of so many marriageable men, he believes that "the nombur of the pepul schalbe hereaftur much increasyd to goddy's honoure & glory." He then refers (p. lviii) to a common report that it was the king's intention to lease the suppressed houses to great lords and rich landed gentry, which he trusts will not be the case, and points out the greater advantages which would arise from leasing the houses and lands to poorer persons (p. lix). Finally (p. lxi), he again expresses his hope that the king will apply the revenues of the suppressed monasteries to the advancement of learning. The letter will be found one deserving of the greatest attention, and will well repay the reader, not only by the interesting though sad picture of the state of England at the time, but still more by the statesmanlike views so clearly and freely declared as to the advantages which would arise from a right use of the enormous revenues of the suppressed monasteries, and of the certain evils which would follow their misuse. How correctly Starkey foresaw the impending danger is only too well proved by such books as Crowley's *Epigrams*, the *Four Supplicacions*,¹ and the extract from Becon printed at the end of this part, p. lxxvi.

To the kyngys hyghnes.²

Thought hyt become non of your subiectys, most Nobul prynce, to meddyl in your weyghty causys, concernyng your honowre & state of your reame, except they be by your grace namely callyd & deputyd therto, yet forasmuch as hyt pleyssyd your hyghnes, schortly aftur I

¹ E. E. T. Soc., ed. Cowper, 1871 and 1872.

² *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, 1536-7. In the Public Record Office. Paged 457 to 504.

was admyttyd to your gracys seruyce, to commytt vn to me the wrytyng of your cummandement & request to mastur Raynold Pole in the most weyghty cause, wych of many yerys hath byn temptyd in thys your Reame, and consydering also that your pleysure was I schold be made pruy of hys iugement therin by hys wrytyng declaryd, I schal now vse thys boldnes in thys mater to open & declare vn to your hyghnes myn inward affect concernyng the same, and what hope I haue fully conceyuyd to see al your actys succeeding therto to be conuerted & turned to the hygh honowre of god, to the grete comfort of your subiectys, & to the vnyuersal & commyn welthe of your Reame, ye and to mynystur occasyon & to gyue lyght to al other chrystian pryncys to see & folow the tenore of the same. But here in the begynnyng I can not but gretely sorow & greuouously lament the corrupt sentence herin of maystur Pole in hys wrytyng declaryd, by whome I trustyd surely to haue seen such a lernyd iugement schowyd to the world, that bothe your grace schold haue taken pleysure therof, hys frendys comfort, & al hys cuntrey profytt of the same. for the wyche cause I testyfy god, at such tyme as your highnes gaue me in cummandement to wryte your pleysure to hym therin, I most hyghly rejoyceyd, trustyng therby that he wold haue taken occasyon, so happely, as me thought mynystryd to hym, to ¹serue your grace & hys cuntrey, accordyng to hys faythful & bounden dewty. Wherefore what inward sorow I haue conceyuyd in my hart thes days past in redyng of hys boke, perceyuyng therby hys corrupt iugement, I can by no wordys to your grace fully expresse, for sorowful I was to see so noughty a cause wyth such schlarpenes sett forthe & wyth such eloquence; sorowful I was to see your grace, hys souerayne lord, so to be dyceuyd in hym, of whome you haue so much deseruyd, and whome of your gudnes as hyt apperyd to me you euer much desyryd to haue inducyd to see the truthe in your weyghty causys: sorowful I was to see al other hys louarys & frendys therby to be depriuuyd of al such comfort & expectatyon as they of long tyme haue conceyuyd of hym, and most of al sorowful I was to see thys our cuntrey b[e]reft of such a wytt, to the wych I euer trustyd he wold haue growen to haue byn a grete ornament, & that as he hathe byn by your gudnes & lyberalyte most nobully brought vp, so he schold at the last haue declaryd some nobil seruyce, as wel to the comfort of your grace as to the profytt of hys cuntrey; and somewhat also sorowful I was for myn owne pryuate & propur cause, consydering the lake wych I fearyd wold succede, wyth the perpetual losse of the conuersatyon of so faythful a frend, wyth whome I haue byn so many yerys brought vp in company & contynual study, not wythout gret hope, that as we had spent togyddur our youthe in study of letturys, so the rest of our lyfys we schold haue consumyd lyke maner in the seruyce of your grace & of our cuntrey: for though we swaruyd many tymys in our

¹ Page 458.

jugementes, inserchyng the truthe in phylosopay, yet I neuer thought we schold so haue varyd in such grete materys *pertheynyng* to relygyon and ¹ to *commyn* pollycy. I neuer thought hym to be of so base a *jugement* as he hathe by hys wrytyng manyfestely schowyd, and though in smal materys many tymys he apperyd to me to erre, and corruptely to iuge, yet bycause I *perceyuyd* ever in hym such a constant loue & stabyl opynyon of that wych apperyd to hym to sowne to vertue & honestye, euer me thought hys errorys were tollerabul, spryngyng rather of weke iugement then of any obstynacye: but now sythen that he hathe sett forthe so corrupt a sentence as hyt apperyth to me in your most weyghty cause, & schowyd so sklaunderouse a iugement of your gracys actys, though as he takythe god to wytnesse, hyt spryngyth of loue toward your gracys honowre, that he hathe wryten so scharpely, yet thys I wyl say & playnly affyrme, that yf he wold set out the same to the face of the world, as he hathe in hys boke deserybyd wyth hys penne, I wold take hym to be an extreme ennymye bothe to your grace, to your state, & to our hole cuntrey: for what scharpenes of wordys, what vyolence of sentence, what daungerys in pollycy, what peryl of damnatyon, he declaryth in hys boke, and propownyth to honge certaynly ouer our hedys, hyt ys horrybul to rede, & incredybyl how he schold conceyue, and wondur hyt ys to me, wych so intyerly haue knowen hym before-tyme, how & by what mean, he ys run in to thys extreme opynyon: but surely as I now *perceyue*, he hath declaryd hymselfe herin to be ouercome ² wythe grete affectyon, for playnly he schowythe, that the dethe of them wych suffryd in the cause hathe so stonge hys hart & oppressyd hym wyth sorow, that he semyth to forget vturly hys dewty to hys cuntrey & to your grace, without al humanyte, he semyth to lake powar to wey the nature of the thyng indyfferently. Wherefore what sorow I haue lately conceyuyd of thys hys iugement I wyl no fether be about to expresse, but comfort myselfe with the truth of the contrary opynyon, and where as he by false report, beyng fer out of hys cuntrey, heryng the forme of your actys & faseyon of pollycy corruptely iugyth wyth desperatyon al thyng to run wyth vs to ruyne & destructyon, I presently seying the state of our cuntrey, & the nature of your actys indyfferently ponderyng, wyl turne to my purpos, breuely to touche the hope wych I haue conceyuyd of the maner & mean, wherby I trust surely that your grace by your wysedome & pollycy wyl conuerte & turne thes your actys not only to the quyetnes of your subiectes now in thys tyme wherin you reyne, but also to the *commyn* comfort of al your posteryte.

And fyrst thys I wyl in the begynnyng playnly confesse vn-to your hyghnes, that although sone after my fyrst entre in to your *seruyce*, when I *perceyuyd* not only your polytyke wysedome, wherby your grace so ernystely myndyd the quyetnes of your subiectys in thys

¹ Page 459.

² Page 460.

eyuyle & wordly lyfe, but also your most chrystyan mynd & iugement, wherby you lokyd vp euer to a nother lyfe, wherof thys ys but a schadow, dyrectyng¹ al your actys & pollycy to the attaynyng therof, I conceyuyd by & by thys hope & trust in my hart, that your hyghnes wold neuer promote nor stablysch anyacte in thys your Reame & cuntrey but such only as schold tend to your gracys honowre & to goddes glory, ye & such as schold not be only to the quyetnes of thys present age, but also of al our posteryte, though thys hope I say I conceyuyd wyth myselfe yet hyt was not surely groundyd in my stomake, nor ther fully rotyd tyl now of late when hyt pleasyd god by hys prouydence so to ordeyne for our welthe that your hyghnes by just occasyon myght plukke away the rote & grounde of al contrary suspicyon. for thys I thinke may truly be sayd, that so long as that woman lyuyd, whome hyt plesyd your hyghnes, as I take hyt, mouyd by opynyon of vertue to sett in such hygh dygnyte, few actys coud procede by the conyecture of wyse men wych myght be durabul wyth our posteryte, but euer lyke as a sore in manmys body, when hyt ys not inwardly & thoroughly healyd, but hathe fayre flesche & coloure vtwardly for the tyme apperyng, at the last brekyth out daungerously, so such actys as apperyd to be byld apon that weke foundatyon, though for a tyme they myght perauenture haue induryd, beyng confyrmyd wyth the only obedyence dew vnto your mayestye, yet at the last in processe of tyme they wold haue brought to themselves ruine & destructyon: but now² sythen hyt hathe pleasyd the gudnes of god to open thys gate of honowre vn- to your hyghnes, and in tyme to cut vp the rote of al such sedyceyon wych myght not only by the iugement of them wych be your true subyectys, but also of al other vtward natyonys, haue sprong therby other among vs now lyuyng, other among our posteryte, I schal not dowte to conceyue sure hope, ful trust & confydence, that your gracys actys schal both now in our age take profytabul effect and long endure to the setting forth of the truthe & to your immortal glory. For now as touchyng your gracys successyon I trust we in thys tyme schal neuer see occasyon of controuersye; for as much as such frute as hyt schal pleyse god to send your hyghnes to our comfort by thys your last matrymony schal put al thyngys out of dowte & ambyguyte, and yet grete hope I haue that your hygh wysedome & pollycy, consylderyng the mortalyte of man & the vncertaynty of frute, the mean tyme wyl neuer suffur thys your Reame to stond wythout heyre appoyntyd by your powar & authoryte, specyally seyng that to the appoyntment therof are ioynyd such occasyonys so manyfold benefytyis, and comyn groundys of al quyetnes and tranquyllyte, for such a personage to appoynt therunto your hyghnes hath, as by the consent of al men lyuyth not apon erthe, the floure of al ladys & the verray glas & image of al vertue & nobyltye, to whome, though I trust hyr grace schal neuer succede but other frute to take place, yet the mean tyme³ sure hope I

¹ Page 461.² Page 462.³ Page 463.

haue that your hyghnes & wysedome perceyuyng as wel the tranquyllyte of the hartys of your subyeectys here at home therby to be stablyschyd, as the intertenure of amyte wyth vtward pryneys by the same to be confyrmyd, wyl appoynt hyr grace at tyme conuenient to that rome & dygnyte, and so by that occasyon stablysch the fyrst ground, & lay the most sure foundatyon of al the rest of your actys, & of al reformatyon. for of thys dede, though in effect sche neuer succede, what honowre schal ryse to your grace among al other externe natyonys, what quyetnes at home among your owne subyeectys, what amyte & loue wyth vtward pryneys I wyl not be about, nor yf I wold, I coude not, fully expresse, but thys one thyng apperyth to me certayn & sure, that herin lyth a grete ground & stablyte, a grete stey & knott, of al your gracys actys in thys new pollycy. Wherefore I schal neuer dowte that your gracys wysedome & gudnes can pretermytte thys occasyon of hygh honowre & commyn quyetnes : and then I schal also much lesse dowte of any daungerouse succese wych by the iugement of some men may folow & succede thys your actt of the plukkyng downe of the prymacy of Rome. For much fearyd hyt ys, & as hyt ys thought not wythout reason, that thys defectyon from Rome, & chaungyng of the old pollycy, schal not only alter the stomakys of al other chrystian pryneys from your gracys sure & faythful amyte, for as much as they are thought to iuge to, ¹be plukkyd away therby the foundatyon & ground of al chrystyan relygyon, but also mynystur a certayn occasyon of the brech of concord & vnyte here at home in your owne natyon bycause that many of your subyeectys are thought in hart no thyng to fauour thys alteratyon of pollycy & thys defectyon."

As to this, he says, he is sure that, could the king's supremacy have been established without the necessity of punishing so severely those who refused to acknowledge it, not only would the king himself and all the people been pleased, but it would also have set such an example to other princes that they would all at once have followed the example set them. He yet expresses his hope and confidence that

"precharys, wych haue run somewhat at large now a long tyme schalbe brought to a certayn stey, & not haue lyberty to expowne the darke placys of scrypture aftur theyr owne fantasys, slyppying raschely bothe from the sentence of the auneynt interpretarys of Chrystys doctryne & from the consent & custume of the church, vsyd from the begynnyng vn-to thys day, ²the wych temeraryouse & lyght iugement hathe byn a grete occasyon of the breche of chrystyan charyte here among vs your subyeectys, to whome they prechyd as vn-to Infydelys, blynd & ignorant of al Chrystys doctryne and relygyon, the wych as they say tyl now of late that the pope was dryuen away, & tyl hyt

¹ Page 464.

² Page 465.

pleasyd god to send lyght to the world opennyd by them vn-to your pepul, was vttruly vnknown euen as Chryst was vn-to the iuys before hys cumyng," the effect of which preaching was that,—"vnder the colowre of dryuyng away mannys tradycyon & popyschnes, they had almost dryuen away al vertue & holynes,"—so that the people began to lose their belief in any doctrine, "and wyth the despysyng of purgatory, they began lytyl to regard hel, heuyn, or any other felycyte hereaftur to be had in a nother lyfe." Could those who had suffered for their "dysobedyence" have believed that the changes would have stopped there, "yf they had thought that we shold haue slyppyd therby to no ferther error nor pestylent opynyon," they would, he is sure, willingly have given their assent to it; and though some "lyght personys" suspect all who favour "the old & auneyent custumys & be lothe to see them troden vnder fote . . . to desyre in hart the abrogatyon of your acte, & to haue the pope to be restoryd to hys old authoryte," yet he is sure that all with one consent are fully content, and "that they wych babyl so much of the popys popyschnes abhorre no more hys vsurpyd powar & domynyon then doo they whome they note yet to be papystys & ful of superstycyon."

He proceeds—

"Albehyt some men consydering wyth them selfys certayn of your actys succedyng thys defectyon from Rome, as the acte of fyrst fruytys, of the tenthys,¹ & of the suppressyon of thes monasterys & housys of relygyon, iuge therby playnly that the body of your reame in few yerys schalbe much impoueryschyd, & much mysery among your pepul schal succede the same, yet when I consydur your graces hygh wysedome & prudence wherby your hyghnes most clerly seeth how the welthe of al pryneys hengyth chefely of the welth of theyr subyectys, & how penury euer bredyth sedytyon, & how the hepyng of trespure wythout lyberalyte, hathe always brought in ruyne & destructyon of euery commynalty, I am then certayn & sure that as you haue not wythout grete prudence & pollycey conceyuyd the groundys of thes your actys, stablyng them wyth polytyke reson, so you wyll see & prouyde that they may procede to such end, as by your hygh wysedome they were chefely dyrectyd vnto. Wherefore consydering that thys wordly trespure ys no such thyng² wherin any nobul hart can take hys delyte & pleyasure, sure hope I haue that your grace, whome I know so depely can wey the nature of thyngys, wyl most lyberally dyspense thys trespure & dyspose thys ryches, to the ayd succur & comfort of your most louyng & obedyent pore subyectys, and where as before tyme vnder the pretext & colowre of relygyon

¹ The Acts restraining the payment of Annates to Rome were 23 Henry VIII., cap. 20; 25th Henry VIII., cap. 20. See the *Dialogue*, pp. 126, 199, and Mr Cowper's Introduction to this volume, pp. clxx-clxxii.

² Page 469.

thys abundance of ryches was abusyd to the nuryschyng of an idul rowte, mynystryng occasyon to al vyce & vanyte, now I trust by your gracys gudnes to see hyt turnyd to the setting forth & increase of all vertue & honestye, & to the comfort of them wych schalbe profytabul cytyzynys lyuyng in some honest exercyse in thys your commynaltye;¹ for many tymys syth I haue had iugement to consydur the end to the wych man of nature ys borne & brought forth, sore I haue lamentyd to see so many vnder colowre of relygyon to lyue as burdonys of the erthe, abusyng the frutys & benefytys of god to theyr owne destructyon." Those, he hopes, who before "ran fast to be prestys & relygyouse, more for hope of profyt & easy lyuyng then for loue of vertue & perfayt relygyon, schal now somewhat stey, & apply themselfys to some other honest fascyon of lyuyng, approuyd by gud & polytyke ordur." Especially he points out that as there are for every state times of war and of peace, so there are² "two dyuerse sortys of men mete to be nuryschyd by the lyberalyte of pryncys . . . necessary to the mayntenance of commyn pollycy, that ys to say, men of letturys & lernyng, & men exercysyd in featys of armys & chyualrye, of the wych as the one sorte ys necessary for warre, so the other must nedys be had in tyme of peace;" and therefore he trusts that such "superfluouse ryches, as by our forfatherys was by lytyl & lytyl accumulate & hepyd to the spirytualtye" may be turned to "the nuryschyng of thes sortys of personys wych schalbe profytabul to your cuntrey both in warre & in peace. I trust to see now many a nobul gentlyman releuyd by thes actys, and exercysyng themselfys in al featys of armys made apte & mete to the defence of theyr cuntrey. I trust now to see many a nobul wytt incurragyd to lernyng by your gracys lyberalyte, & made apte to celebrate your fame & glory commenyng your pryncely vertues to eternal memory. I trust now to see many notabul precharys spryng forth to lyght, and to declare to your pepul the truth of Chrystys doctryne syncerely; and fynally I trust now to see al such superfluouse ryches, wych among them that bare the name of spirytual nuryschyd no thyng but idulness & vyce, to be conuertyd & turnyd by your gracyouse³ gudnes to the increase of al vertue & honestye. . . . Howbehyt in thys acte of suppression of abbays & monasterys, among your pepul ther lythe no smal controuersye, specyally seying that by the consent of al your lernyd clergye hyt ys agred that such a place ther ys wherin soulys departyd reynaynyng may be releuyd by the prayer & almy[s] dede of ther posteryte . . . how I am persua dyd that your grace wyl conuert thys acte to the welthe of your subyectys now lyuyng, & to

¹ On the great good which *might* have been done with the revenues of the suppressed monasteries, see Crowley's *Epigrams*, E. E. T. S., ed. Cowper, p. 7, "Of Abbayes;" the *Complaynt of Roderyck Mors*, edited by the same gentleman, 1874; and *The Parish*, by the late Mr Toulmin Smith, 1857, p. 145.

² Page 470.

³ Page 471.

the comfort also of them wych be departyd I schal somewhat more partycularly touch. . . .

“And fyrst herin thys ys certayne that many ther be wyche are mouyd to iuge playnly thys acte of suppressyon of certayn abbays bothe to be agayne the ordur of charyte & iniuryous to them wych be dede bycause the foundarys therof & the soulys departyd seme therby to be defraundyd of the benefyte of prayer & almys dede ther appoyntyd to be done for theyr releiffe by theyr last wyl & testament; and also the *commyn* wele & polytyke ordur apperyth to be much hyndryd & trowblyd by the same, bycause many pore men¹ therby are lyke to be depryuyd of theyr lyuyng & quyetnes, wherin lythe as they thynke no smal inurye: how be hyt as touchyng thes causys *commynly* allegyd, though they seme to be of no smal weyght, yet they are obyectyd in thys mater by manyfest lake of iugement & consyderatyon, for to me a lytyl consyderyng wyth my selfe the nature of thys acte, hyt apperyth playnly nother to be vturly agayne the ordur of charyte, nother yet the foundarys wyllys to be broken therby wyth any notabul iniurye, for thys ys a sure ground by the ordur of al lawys, & by the consent of al men of lernyng & iugement approuyd, that though grete respecte euer hath byn had of the last wyll of testatorys & much pryuylege grauntyd therto, specyally when hyt pertyneyd & tendyd to materys of relygyon, yet thys I trow was neuer thought of any men of wysedome & prudence that al theyr posteryte schold be bounden of hygh necessity to the sure accomplyschment & ful obseruatyon of theyr wyllys prescryhyd in testament & that by no meanys they myght be changyd & ordryd to other purpos, for thys ys a sure truthe that the wyll & dede of euery pryuate man for a *commyn* wele may be alteryd by the supreme authoryte in euery cuntrey & kynd of pollycy, for as much as euery man by the ordur of god ys subyet therto, & hys wyl euer presupposyd to be obedyent to the same in so much that though he be other absent or dede, yet hyt ys alway by reson thought that yf he were present he wold gyue hys consent to al such thyngys as be iugyd by *commyn* authoryte to be expedient to the publyke wele, to the wych no pryuate wyl may be lawfully repugnant. Wherefore albehyt the last wyl of the testatorys be by thys acte alteryd wyth authoryte, yet hyt ys not broken wyth iniurye, bycause the consent of the testator ys presupposyd to be conteynyd therein. in so much that hyt may surely be thought that yf they were now lyuyng agayne & saw the present state of thys world now in our days, how vnder the pretense of prayer much vyce & idulnes ys nuryshyd in thes monasterys instytute & foundyd of them, and how lytyl lernyng & relygyon ys tought in the same, ye & how lytyl chrystyan hospytalyte ys vsyd therin, they wold peraventure cry out with one voyce, saying aftur thys maner to pryueys of the world—‘alter thes foundatyonys wych we of long

tyme before dyd instytute, & turne them to some bettur vse & commodyte. We neuer gaue our possessyonys to thys end & purpos to the wych by abuse they be now applyd. We thought to stablysch busys of vertue, lernyng & relygyon, the wych now, by the malyce of man in process of tyme we see turnyd to vyce, blyndnes, & superstycyon. We thought to stablysch certayn companys to lyue togyddur in pure and chrystyan charyte, wherin we see now reynyth much hate, rancore & enuye, much slothe, idulnes & glotony, much¹ ignorance, blyndnes & hypocrysye, wherfor we cry, alter thes fundatyons & turne them to bettur vse; prouyde they may be as commyn scolys to the educatyon of youth in vertue & relygyon, out of the wych you may pyke men apt to be ordaynyd byschoppys & prelats for their perfectyon: prouyde they may be some ornament to the commyn wele & not as they be now sklaunderouse & therwyth grete detryment.' Thys perauenture they wold say vn-to your hyghnes, requyryng your wysedome to cal thys mater to some lyke consyderatyon, wherby hyt may appere that theyr wyllys are not vtterly frustrat & broken by your gracy's actys.

"And yet many men ferther, as hyt apperyth to them not wythout reson, haue requyryd in thys mater much rather a just reformatyon then thys vthur ruynouse suppressyon. How be hyt thos men, as I thynke, haue not in dylygent consyderatyon such thyngys as in thys acte are pryncypally to be ponderyd & weyd, for though hyt be so that prayer & almys dede be much to the comfort of them wych be departyd, & though god delyte much in our charytabul myndys therby declaryd, yet to conuerte ouer much possessyon to that end & purpos, & to appoynt ouer many personys to such offyce & exerceyse, can not be wythout grete detryment & hurt to the chrystian commynwele, gud ordur & true pollycey . . .² & though hyt be a gud thyng & much relygyouse to pray for them wych be departyd out of thys mysery, yet we may not gyue al our possessyonys to nurysh idul men in contynual prayer for them, leuyng other destytute of helpe wych be in lyffe, for to the one we are bounden by expresse commandement, whereas the other cumyth but of mere deuotyon." It can, therefore, he says, be no fraud on the dead to turn their endowments to the benefit of the living, since the latter will then be bound to pray for their benefactors, and if they fail to do so the fault will lie with them, and not with the dead, "for whether we pray or pray not they schal not be depriu'd of theyr reward³ by goddys gudnes to them appoyntyd, and yet I doo not say but that hyt ys grete comfort & releyffe to them to see theyr posteryte to haue them in charytabul memory, the wych thyng ys to be requyryd of al men of euery sort & degre, & not only of them wych lyue in monasterys."

The suppression of the monasteries, by reducing the number of those who run to the monastical life, "more mounyd by the

¹ Page 474.² Page 475.³ Page 476.

idul quyetnes & vayn plesure therin, then by any desyre of *perfayt vertue & true relygyon*,"¹ will therefore, he believes, tend greatly to the advantage of the country, to the honour and glory of God, and to the increase of good order. "For to me *consydering* the state of our cuntrey & nature of the same, & *comparaing* hyt to other, hyt apperyth playnly that though ther be therin ouer grete nombur of idul personys & yl occupyd, yet,² regard had of the fertylte, nature, & largenes of the place ther may appere a grete lake of pepul & inhabytantys of the same, in the conuenient multytude of whome I iuge to rest the chefe mater, ground & foundatyon wherapon ys byldyd al cyuyle ordur & polytyke, the wych thyng may be gatheryd & prouyd suffyciently, not only of the grete wast groundys, rude & vntyllyd, & of the forestys, *commynys*, & *parkys* fyllyd wyth wyld bestys, wych myght by dylygent culture be conuertyd to *profytabel vse* and brought to the nuryshyng of man,³ but also of the rare & smal nombur of cytes & townys, & of the *commyn* decay & ruyne of the same throughout al thys your reame & natyon, albehyt here-of many other causys may be notyd, but where as nother warre pestylens nor famyn hathe mynstryd cause to the desolatyon of cytes & townys, hyt must nedys appere that the decay & ruyne therof spryngyth much of the penury of pepul & lake of inhabytantys, for of thys desolatyon other grete causys & other chefe groundys I fynd not many: and for thys cause long I haue thought & iugyd thys grete nombur of prestys & relygyouse,⁴

¹ Page 477.² Page 478.³ Compare the *Dialogue*, pp. 70—73.

⁴ Complaints of the excessive number of friars and monks are frequent. Wyclif says:—"not two hundrid 3eere agone þer was no frere . . . And now ben mony þousande of freris in Englonde."—*Works*, ed. Arnold, III. 400. See also the *Dialogue*, p. 149, and *A Supplycacion to our moste soueraigne Lorde, Kyng Henry the Eyght*, E. E. T. Soc., ed. Cowper, p. 40; and compare the following:—

"Agayne, what an infinite number of monstures, Monekes, I would haue sayd, and other religiouse parsons, and God wyl, as they desyre to be called, did there arise in this kyngdome? Who thought it not a better dede to put his childe into an Abbay, and there to liue idelly, swinishly and irreligiously pampred vp with al delicious fare that should prouoke vnto lewdnes, than to lette hym lyue abroade in the wolde, and there to practyse some honest arte and occupacion, that might turne to the commodite and mayntaynauce of the common weale? What blindies had inuaded thys Realme! Did not we thinke it rather our dutye to obeye the proude Bishop of Rome than our own natie kyng? Did not we esteme hys fantastickall deeres aboue the edictes, lawes, & actes of our own kyng? were we not more ready to folowe his sensuall lustes and beastlyke pleasures, than to obeye the commaundementes of our own kyng & ruler? Into what perylles would not we easte ourselues to do y^t rammish Bishop pleasure? Yea would God y^t certayn of this realme in times past had not rather had a mynd to dye for y^e maiintenance of y^e false vsurped power of y^t Bishop of Rome than to lyue w^t obedyente and faythfull hartes to oure moste Chrysten kyng" (Becon, *Pathway to Prayer*, *Works*, 1564, Vol. I. fol. xcii).

lyuyng vnmaryd in vnclene lyfe, to be much sklaunderouse to chrystian commyn welys & to gyue no smal occasyon to the deokay of thys ground, the wych ys dowteles, as the veray foundatyon to al eyuele ordur chefely to be regardyd. Wherefore now in thes days to my iugement hyt apperyth ¹ hyghly expedyent other to mynysch thys nombur of prestys & of relygyouse personys, other to alter thys law of bound chastyte, though hyt hathe byn neuer so long receyuyd, but wych of thes two thyngys ys now to thys tyme more conuenient I schal leue to your gracys wysedome & iugement; and of thys mater no thyng dowte at al, but that here ys a grete lake & penury of pepul & inhabytantys in your cytes & townys & hole cuntrey: the wych lake, as hyt apperythe to me, may in some part be redressyd & helpyd by thys your acte of suppressyon. For where as before tyme in thes monasterys was nurysschyd a multytude of men lyuyng vnmaryd, & dowteles many in vnclene lyfe, to the grete dyshonowre of god, & let of natural propagatyon, grete trust I haue that your hyghnes by your gudnes & wysedome wyl now set & plant therin men lyuyng in lawful matrimony, wherby the nombur of your pepul schalbe hereaftur much increasyd, to goddlys honowre & glory.² . . .

³ "But here ys a thyng wych many wyse men feare & gretely dystrust, & what hyt ys I schal to your hyghnes breuely declare. Hyt ys openly iugyd & commynly thought that the ferme & occupyng of thes abbays & monasterys schalbe leysyd & set vn-to grete lordys & gentylmen of much possessyonys & to them wych haue therof no grete nede at al, the wych dowteles, yf hyt so be, schal much deface & gretly dymynysch the profyt of your acte & publyke vtylyte, for then schal the grete commodyte therof run but to few & to such wych myght lake hyt ryght wel, & your pepul therby schalbe lytyl then increasyd; wheras yf the fermys therof were leysyd by copyhold, & of a mean rent, to yongur bretherne lyuyng in seruyce vnprofytably, & to them wych be of lowar state & degre, they schold gretely helpe to set forward chrystyan cunylyte & much increase the nombur of your pepul, specyally yf the ferme of the hole monasterys and demaynys of the same were dyuydyd in-to sundry portyonys & dyuerse holdys, & not leysyd to one to turne hyt vn-to a graunge. And thys thyng schold not be vturly wythout reson & gud consyderatyon, for pytye hyt were that so much feyre housyng & gudly byldyng, wych myght wyth commodyte be maynteynyd to the comfort of man schold be let fal to ruyne & deokay, wherby our cuntrey myght appere so to be ⁴ defacyd as hyt had byn lately ouerrun wyth ennynys in tyme of warre, the wych must nedys ensew yf the hole monastery be leysyd but to one to whome hyt schal not be necessary to maynteyne so much housyng, but a schyppe-cote perauenture schalbe to hym suffyceyent." He suggests that each monastery be divided and leased to several men instead of one, so

¹ Page 479.

² Compare the *Dialogue*, pp. 148 *et seq.*

³ Page 480.

⁴ Page 481.

that more households and citizens might be produced "apte & mete to the servyce" of the commonwealthe; the "relygyouse" may be removed to the greater monasteries, where they can better observe their rules. "Wherefore grete trust I haue & sure hope that your hyghnes, by your synguler wysedome & grete pollycey, wyl plant in thes housys a nothere cumpany then hathe byn before, wyche haue gretly abusyd the benefytys of god & of gud men to them gyuen, by whome the nombur of your pepul schalbe bettur increasyd & the mayestye of god, as hyt ys to be thought, much bettur pleasyd, ye, & the soulys of them wych be departyd much more comfortyd, of whome hyt may be iugyd conueniently that euer as they delyte & take much comfort of the faythful prayerys & remembrance of theyr posteryte, so of the faynyd babbling of many ful of hypocrysye¹ more by custume then wyth deuotyoun vsyd, they take lytyl releiffe & consolatyoun. Wherefore though such a place be, as hath byn euer affyrmyd of al the antyquyte, where as soulys departyd be retaynyd from the fruytyon of the dyuine mayestye, ther takyng releiffe & comfort of our prayerys made in faythful loue & charyte, yet thys schal not folow of necessaryte that by thys acte of suppressyon they suffur any wrong or iniurye, but rather, as fer as mannys reson may attayne, schal take grete consolatyoun to see theyr possessyonys, wych long haue byn abusyd to the nuryschyng of vyce & idulnes,² now conuertyd & turnyd by your gracyouse gudnes & wysedome to the commyn comfort of theyr posteryte & to the setting forth of goddys glory, the wych dowteles ys more schowyd & openyd to the world by the multytude & increse of hys pepul lyuyng togyddur in chrystyan cyuylte then by a few lyuyng in the monastycal lyfe & solytary."³

Starkey then proceeds to treat of the question of the origin and progress of the supremacy of the Pope: two causes, he thinks, may be assigned for the former, "the one for as much as general counseyl of al chystian natyonys was iugyd of wyse men to be expedyent both to redresse al commyn errorys and heresys, & also to stablysch a conformyte of manerys & vnyte of chrystys doctryne in the vnyuersal church, hyt was thought⁴ also mete & conuenient to determe & appoynt one to be hede & chefe in the same to ordur the counseyl & propowne such thyngys as were decreed wyth authorityte: the other because the word of god & doctryne of Chryst ought to be kept perfayt & hole in al chrystian pollyceys, & ought to be the ground & foundatyoun whereapon al chrystian pryncys schold byld al theyr lawys & be the veray end wherevnto they ought to dyrect al theyr actys & dedys, to the intent that pryncys schold not swarue from the groundys of scripture nor decre any thyng contrary to the true sense

¹ Page 483.

² Compare the *Dialogue*, p. 131, "idul abbey-lubbarys."

³ Compare the *Supplicacion of the Poore Commons*, E. E. T. Soc., ed. Cowper, pp. 79-80.

⁴ Page 485.

& integryte therof: hyt was *peraventure* iugyd by reson also to be veray expedient to stablysch such a hede wherby as by a *commyn* stei the hedy affectys of pryncys & vnlawful purposys myght in some parte be brydelyd, & conteynyd in ordur."

The principal cause of the continuance and increase of the power of the popes he thinks to be "that aftur the tyme that *Constantyne*, the grete, Emperoure, by the consent of al them wych were vnder hys monarchye, & by hys hygh powar, had stablyschyd thys hede, the euydent ¹ vtylyte wherof was felt & playnly perceyuyd through the hole chrystyan pollyey, & specyally in thys ocydent parte of the world, then men began to draw placys of scrypture to the confyrmation therof, and in processe of tyme such as sownyd therto wyth a lytyl apparent probabylyte were by the avaucercys of that powar declaryd to the world to proue the thyng of necessitye, for such ys the symplycyte of man that euery lytyl apparence, namely in materys of relygyon, inducyth hym by & by to ful persuasyon, specyally when ther apperyth any daungerys or incommodytes annexyd & succedylng the same."

This power given to the popes might, he says, have continued had they been content with what was originally given to them; but as for reasons of policy they gradually increased it, so he thinks it was a matter of policy to end it, and he declares his conviction that as the Church prospered at first without a head in Rome, it will not injure it now if the Pope is deprived of his supremacy.² For though at first necessary, it had grown to such a height that it was essential to the safety of the country "vtturly to pluke out of al chrystyan pollycy such tyrannyeal iurysdyctyon," and he hopes that other princes will follow the example set them in England.

Starkey then impresses on the king the necessity to "dyssyfyre and to separat a-sundure, al such as be groundys of scrypture, laudabul custumys, ³ and honest rytys tendyng to confyrme true & perfayt relygyon frome mannys tradytyon, folysch abusys & erroneouse, by the wych ys vnder growen al false & vayne supersteyon: for to thys dyssyfyng & to thys maner of castyng downe the prymaey schal neuer succede the brech of chrystyan charyte, nor yet the ruine of lernyng, vertue or of gud cyuylyte. Wherof many honest hartys & relygyouse haue conceyuyd grete feare & suspicyon, dowtyng much that wyth thys defectyon from Rome, we schold haue fallen & slyppyd also from al old rytys & rulys of our relygyon. But now sythen hyt hathe pleasyd your grace by your authoryte to stablysch the gud & auncient custumys vsyd in chrystys church from the begynnyng, and to set forth the indyfferent mean betwyx the old &

¹ Page 486.² Compare the *Dialogue*, pp. 198-9.³ Page 489.

blynd superstycyon and thys lyght & arrogant opynyon lately entryng here among vs, I trust surely to see the doctryne of chryst so synceerely to be set forth, & the honoure of God so to be maynteynyd in thys new pollycy, that al other chrystian pryneys schal take therof lyght of true iugement. . . . ¹ Now I trust to see vertue & lernyng so to be estymyd here among vs, and so to be rewardyd by your gracys lyberalyte that al men schalbe much encurragyd therto, and al men schal take therof iuste cause of reyoeyng; for though vertue of hytselfe be suffyceent reward to al them wych clere iugement can behold the bewty therof, yet the commyn sort hauyng therof no clere syght, syl dome enteryth the straye pathe ledyng thervnto, except they be encurragyd & inflamyd wyth some hope of vtward reward & benefyte;" and to this use he expresses his hope that the king will turn the immense revenues lately fallen to him. He then again refers ² to the "vndyserete prechyng" which of late had nearly brought in "a certayn dyuysyon," and hopes that in future the people may live in "perfayt vnyte, whervnto syl don and rarer prechyng, made wyth gretar lernyng & dyseretyon . . schold mynstur no smal cause and occasyon;" for though at first "before Chrystys doctryne was taught to the world hyt was then necessary in euery cuntrey to haue often & much prechyng, to plant in mennys hartys the groundys of our relygyon, so now whereas hyt hath byn stablyd so many yerys, and both by educatyon & tradytyon so wel confirmyd, ther ys therof I thynke no such hygh necessity," and ³ "Persuadyd I am that yf so much prechyng had not byn vsyd in thys alteratyon of your pollycy, but yf thyngys had byn set forth only by your pryneely powar & authoryte, ther schold neuer haue byn so much repugnyng nor so much gruge agayne your actys as apperyd openly," for he says there is nothing "more vneumly in chrystian commyn welys then to see euery lewde person at lyberty to babyl in pulpyttys of the groundys of scrypture and of hygh materys & weyghty concernyng relygyon, the handelyng wherof worthyly perteynyth to men of approuyd vertue & grete puryte of lyfe, hygh lernyng and depe iugement."

He again returns to the encouragement of learning, ⁴ "by the syght wherof men schalbe styrryd & inflamyd lightly to folow thys our trade & kynd of pollycy, and thys schal gyue to other chrystian pryneys by your gracys actys clere lyght of iugement; thys schal moue them to loke to your exampul; thys schal make them gladly to schake away the yoke of the tyraunny of Rome, and, schortly to say, thys I thynko ys the only way to persnade other pryneys & to induce the world to iuge thys defectyon to be a gud dede and to be wel doone ⁵ and truly to say I thynke no one thyng hathe byn a gretar stey to chrystian pryneys to conteyne them in theyr old pollycy then hatho byn the exampul of Germanye, whose dyscorde and dyuysyon wyth so many kyndys of relygyon lately receyuyd hathe made many

¹ Page 490.² Page 491.³ Page 492.⁴ Page 493.⁵ Page 494.

chrystian hartys, & many wise men much to abhorre al new alteratyon, but as Germanye by rashnes and, as I take hyt, by lake of sobur iugement & dyscretyon hathe mynystryd lyght occasyon of ouer much lyberty to theyr pepul, by the reson wherof they slyppyd in-to a pestylent dyuysyon, and so hath much defacyd & spottyd thys kynd of pollycey, so I trust that Englund, gouernyd & rulyd by your hygh wysedome & iugement, your pepul beyng temperryd wyth soburnes & modestye, schal mynystur such exampul & gyue such lyght therin that al other chrystian pryneys hereafter schal gladly folow thys alteratyon, & much desyre in theyr commyn welys to see lyke ordur of pollycey¹ and though Mastur Pole, in whome my trust surely was fyxed; that he wold haue subscrybyd to the iugyd truthe herin, hathe lately declaryd by hys wrytyng a contrary sentence vndyscretely, yet I trust he ys not so malyceyouse, nor so lytyl studyouse of your gracys honowre, as to set hyt abrode to the face of the world; and yet yf he, forgettyng hym selfe, schold mynd so to doo, mouyd other by the desyre of the auancement of hys sentence, to the wych he iugyth the more parte of the world wythout controuersye dothe agre, other els styrryd by ambyceyon & study of glory, wherwyth he may perauenture be inflamyd gretely, I dowte not but that your gracys subyeectys schal take therof lytyl persuasyon," for, he says, as to the Pope's supremacy, provided no changes be made in the doctrines and rites of the Church, it will soon "be put in oblyuon for euery man semyth commynly & vturly to abhorre that vsurpyd and clokyd tyranny."

The whole question he hopes may be brought before a General Council,² the result of which he feels sure would be that the example set by Henry would be followed by other princes, for it is monstrous, he says, that "though byschoppys & prestys be the chefe membrys in chrystian commyn welys, hauyng powar of god to releyse men from al syn, as precharys of goddys word & mynysturys of hys doctryne, where vnto al chrystian³ pollycey must be framyd & as apon the chefe ground byldyd, yet by the vertue of goddys word to calenge any authoryte as hedys and rularys, and to clayme ouer al chrystian pryneys any superyoryte, I thynke schal appere to goddys word playn contrary." For though secular authorities, as such, are subject and inferior to ecclesiastical authorities, and the law of man to that of God, yet it does not follow that Christian princes, in whom rests all power, should be inferior to any of their subjects, even though the latter be endowed with ecclesiastical authority.

When he looks abroad and sees all the princes bent on war he is almost lost in despair, but he says,⁴ "I trust to see a general counseyl

¹ Page 495.

² Page 496.

³ Page 497.

⁴ Page 499.

to folow and by your gudnes pryncypally the world restoryd to the old quyetnes, by the wych mean your grace schal not only doo the offyce and dewtye of a veray chrystian prynce and of a true hede of a chrystian congregatyon, but also by the consent of al men your hyghnes schalbe ingyd to be worthy of immortal glorye, and wyth hym to reyne, who ys the veray hede of al churchys eternally.

"Thus I haue declaryd breuely vn-to your hyghnes the hopys wych I haue of thys present state & kynd of pollycy, mouyd by the redyng of Mastur Polys boke, wherin he studyth the abrogatyon of your actys, and the restitutyon of the old prymacy, declaryng hyt to be a necessary ground to the conseruatyon of chrystyan vnyte and playnly schowyng how aftur hys iugement thes your actys repugnyng to goddys law can not long endure in thys present age, & much les wyth your posteryte: but as he corruptly doth iuge your gracyes actys, as he apperyth to me, blyndyd wyth affectyon, not weying they materys indyfferently, so I trust & surely hope that your hyghnes, not only by your synguler gudnes, appoyntyng your successyon at tyne conuenient, wel ponderyng the commodytes wych depend therapon, but also by your hygh prudence and pollycy, conteynyng your pepul in ordur and vnyte, wyl so tempur your actys wyth al theyr successe annexyd to the same, and so ordur the present state dyrectyng al thyngys to goddys honowre & glory, that they schal not only be an exampl to al other chrystian prynceys to folow and ensew, mynstryng vn-to them lyght of iugement, but endure also long & many yerys to the grete comfort of vs that in thys tyme, and to the inestymabul quyetnes of ¹al our posteryte. Thes be my hopys, and ofte cogytatyonys & desyrys wherwyth aboue al wordly thyngys I comfort myselfe in thys mortal lyffe. In the declaratyon wherof vn-to your hyghnes, yf I haue erryd or conceyuyd amys, I schal most humbly besech your grace as my souerayne lord & mastur rather to impute of your gudnes myn errour to ignorancy and lake of experyence, then to any lake of wyl and desyre of that thyng wych perteynyth to your pryncely honowre, to the wych I schal serue duryng my lyfe, wyth the same faythfulnes of hart, wherwyth² I serue hym, who ys the maker, gouernowre, and rulare of all."

§ 17. Here we practically take leave of Starkey, for beyond indirect notices of his death in the appointment of his successors in the livings held by him, we have no further mention of his name.

He had been named on the 30th December, 1536, to the Collegiate Chapel of Corpus Christi, in connection with the Church of St Laurence, Candlewick Street, London,³ and was presented to

¹ Page 500.

² *MS.* wherwhythe.

³ Thomas Starkey clericus habet litteras Regis patentes de presentacione ad Collegium siue Capellam corporis Christi iuxta ecclesiam sancti Laurencij prope Candelryke strete Ciuitatis Londonii London. Dioc. per mortem ultimi

the living on the 26th January following. Hither, doubtless, he betook himself after the failure of the negotiations with Reginald Pole, and here he composed the *Dialogue*, having, as he says, “alate in leyser and quietnes geddrid certayn thinges by long obseruatyon and put them in wryting.”

Of this Chapel Newcourt¹ gives the following account :—

“The Parish Church of S. Laurence stood on the west side of S. Laurence Lane (so call’d of this Church), which runs down from Canon-street to Thames Street, in Candlewick-street Ward, and being near Candlewick (now Canon) Street, was in old time call’d S. Laurence Candlewick-street Church.

“It was in antient time increas’d with a Chapel of Jesus, by Thomas Cole, for a Master and a Chaplain; the which Chapel and Parish-Church was afterwards made a College of Jesus and *Corpus Christi*, for a Master and seven (or rather twelve) Chaplains, by John Poultney, Mayor, and was confirm’d by Edward III. in the 20th of his Reign, having the year before, viz. July 1, 1345, granted Licence to the said John, to give and assign to the Custos of the Chantry founded by him, to the Honour of *Corpus Christi*, and of the Church of S. Laurence, near Candlewick-street, London, and to the twelve Chaplains celebrating there, the Advowsons of the Churches of Napton, West-Tilbury, Chevele, Sheule, and Spelhurst.

“Of this Founder, Sir John Poultney, was this Church afterward call’d S. Laurence Poultney (now commonly Pountney), which College at the Suppression was valu’d at £97 17s. 11d, and surrendered in the Reign of Edward VI.

“This Church (which on the Steeple had a very lofty spire of Timber and Lead, new-leaded in 1631 and 1632) was burnt down in the late dreadful Fire, and after that united to that of S. Mary Abchurch, which is made the Parochial-Church for both Parishes; both which are made of the yearly value of £120 in lieu of Tyths to the Incumbent, and the site of this remains only as a burying-place for the Inhabitants of this Parish.

Hujus Collegii Magistri.

Joh. Blackden, A.M., 24 July, 1532, *per resig.* Stevyns.

Tho. Starkey, *pres.* 26 January, 1536, *per mortem* Blackden.

incumbentis eusdem. Et directe littere ille Reuerendo in Cristo patri Johanni Londonii Episcopo. In cuius &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xxx die Decembris.

per breve de priuati Sigillo & de dato &c.—*Patent Roll*, 28 Hen. VIII. Part 3. mem. (19).

¹ *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, 1708, Vol. I. pp. 8, 389.

Will. Latymer,¹ *pres.* 22 October, 1538, *per mortem* Starkey."

The date of the following letter to Sir Geoffry Pole is clear from the reference to Pole's having "[gott]en the Cardynallys hatte & robbe made." The mention to Throckmorton refers to his having been sent back to Pole with a strong protest from Henry and Cromwell against his accepting the dignity of cardinal.

(1 February 1537.²)

I wrote to you but short lately bycause I thought my lord, as he was purposyd, had come to you, but now I wyl recompense my shortenes, how be hyt as touchyng newys from Italy your frend hathe certyfyd you truly.³

I have expownyd *latine* to you. Master Pole hathe [gott]en⁴ the Cardynallys hatte & robbe made wyth su[che t]ryumphe as neuer was man in Rome, and playnly hyt [ys] wryten out of Italy that he shal shortly be pope, *talis est multorum ibi expectatio*, but yet I can skant beleue that he wyl Injoy that tytill before throgmortonys arrayual, wych schalbe shortly, & shortly I trow also retorne, for thereapon heng grete thyngys. The mater ys not wel borne. I wold you were here for ij or iij days at your leysar, & come by my lord montague, yf you here of hys beyng ther at bokmore, for he wylbe also here thys next weke as I here. Our men in the north I trust be wel quyetyd: my lord of Norfolke wyth hys conseyll ys now ther. Beyond the see ther ys grete preparatyon apon al sydys, bothe among chrysten men & turkys, and lately the duke of florence was slayn by hys own Cosyn in the myddyl of hys owne towne, such myschefe ys in the world. Master gostwyke lokyth for you for the kyngys money, & thys Master olyver wyllyd me to wryte to you, & I am sure you wyl bryng hyt up wyth you and more to satysfye other credytors, *si qui sint*. I have non other newys, but desyryng you that I may be most humbly recommendyd to my lady, your mother, *vale*. Londini, Calendis februarij,

Th. Starkey.

Here ys a lettur of mastres brownys wythin.

[Addressed]

The Ryght worshypful Sr geoffray pole.

§ 18. Of the exact date of Starkey's death we are ignorant. He

¹ Afterwards Dean of Peterborough. He it was who complained against Bonner, Bishop of London, for leaving out of his sermon at Paul's Cross the article of the king's authority in his minority, contrary to the king's injunctions, and for some neglects in his pastoral office and duty, for which he was prosecuted and deprived of his bishopric, October 1, 1549.

² *State Papers, Henry VIII., Public Record Office.* This letter is much worn, some parts being in a very bad state.

³ Nearly half a line is illegible here.

⁴ A hole in the paper here carries off the words supplied in brackets.

was certainly dead before the 1st September, 1538, for on that date Cranmer, as appears from the *Registers* in Lambeth Palace Library, presented Hugh Coren to the living of Great Mongeham, *per mortem naturalem* Thome Starkey, S. T. P. *vacantem* (leaf 365, back). If, therefore, the will printed above (p. viii) is really Starkey's, his death must have taken place in the last week of August, 1538. His successor at Corpus Christi was presented, as we have seen, to the living on the 22nd October, 1538, and the Patent appointing him bears date 24th September.

It is very evident that Starkey was far more suited for the life of a student than of a politician. Of a sincere and upright, but readily persuaded disposition, he was completely at the mercy of any more skilled in double dealings, and willing to take advantage of his weakness. His letters after the failure of the negotiations with Pole show at once his earnestness and his want of strength of mind, and it is clear that from the first he was looked upon and used by both parties simply as a tool.

I have omitted all mention of Starkey's work, *An Exhortation to Christian Unity*, because it is quite uncertain when it was written. It is quite possible, and not improbable, that it was composed in 1534, and that it led to his being recommended by Cromwell for the appointment of chaplain to the king. The work, which is fully described by Strype, *Eccles. Memorials*, Vol. I. pt. i. pp. 266, 514, begins by stating how "the Pope for maintenance of his authority, under colour of religion, had brought in among Christians much false superstition; and for the maintenance of his pride set great divisions among Christian princes; what insolent pride and arrogance it was in the Pope to affirm a superiority among Christ's disciples, making Peter chief head, and so the Bishop of Rome he that must be chief judge over all Christendom, and over all princes and laws, with interdicts and dispensations to rule them at his pleasure: that the Pope's prerogative could not be shown from any ground of Scripture. That until the time of Pope Sylvester, about the space of four hundred years, there was no mention at all made of this head: that all the ancient and good interpreters of Christ's gospel among the Greeks kept silence concerning this authority, in all their books never making any mention of it: and that if this were true, then should all the Indians these thousand years have run headlong to damnation, who never took the Bishop of Rome to be head of Christ's Church. The

same might be said of the Greek nation, and of the Armenians, who would never own that Bishop for their head."

He concludes as follows :—

"Wherefore, dear friends, seeing that this superiority, given to the Bishop of Rome, is neither by God's word in His Scripture granted, nor by the practice thereof by His apostles, inspired with His Spirit, confirmed and founded, as a thing to the salvation of man requisite and necessary ; I see no cause why we should so stiffly maintain the same, and so stubbornly repugn to such good and common policy ; whereby is plucked away from our nation such a cloaked tyranny, which under the pretext of religion hath stabled among us much superstition, to the great ruin and decay of the sincere, simple, and pure doctrine of Christ."

The following letter appears to be the original draft of Starkey's application to Cromwell for appointment as king's chaplain, already reprinted at p. ix from the more complete copy in MS. Harl. 283 :¹—

For as muche that I see you so occupyd in materys of weyght in al such tymys wherin you gyue audyence to such as sue vn to you for your socur & conseyl, I haue thought most conuenient, breuely in wrytyng to schow the cause of my sute now vn to you, besechynge you at your plesure to rede hyt, at suche tyme, as you are not besyd wyth gretur affayrys ; requyryng you also of pardon of thys my importune boldnes, for maruayle you may, that I, beyng to you a straunger & almost vnknowne, schold so boldly requyre your conseyl & ayde, & speycally in such a cause wych semyth to requyre longur acqyntaunce ; but maruayle you not, your gentylnes ys the cause, I assure you. the synguler humanyte schowyd vn to me at your fyrst communycatyon, and the grete gudnes wych you to al men declare in al gud & honest requestys hathe put such confydence in my hart and stomake, that I put no dowte, that you wyl not only gladly here my request, but also put to your conseyl & ayde to the fortherance of the same, and bycause I wyl not trowbul you ouer long, schortly to schow you thys hyt ys. I wyl open my mynd now vn-to you, non other wyse, then hyt ys open to hym who seeth al. I haue spent many yerys in the studye of letturys, occupying my pore wytt wythe such dylygence as I coude, to attayne to some knolege, both of the law of god & of the law of man, and in thys my studys, I haue had hytherto grete plesure and comfort, euer more trustyng to haue some occasyon & tyme wherin I myght apply such lernyng as I attaynyd vn to, at the last to some vse & profyt of my cuntrey ; thys hathe

¹ *State Papers, Public Record Office, Henry VIII.*

byn I testyfy god the end of my studys, thys hathe byn euer before my yees, and to thys now I loke vn to wythe gretur desyre then euer I dyd hytherto to any other thyng in my lyfe: but now In thys case & condycyon I stond, that of myselfe I can not attayne to thys end accordyng to my desyre, the gudnes of our prynce who gouernyth vs me semyth ys such, so sett to the restitutyon of the true commyn wele, that my mynd now gyuyth me thys, that yf hyt plesyd hys grace to vse me therin, I coude in some parte helpe ther vnto. Wherfor if hyt wold plesse you of your gudnes as my sure trust ys, aftur your prudence to helpe & set forwarde thys my purpos, what you schal deserue of me you can bettur conceyue, then I can wyth wordys expresse. Thys I assure you I schal euer iuge that by you I haue optaynyd a grete parte of my felycyte, and the rest of my lyfe I wyl gladly spend accordyng to your ordur & dysposytyon.

Yours assurydly,
Thomas Starkey.

The following letter is interesting as exhibiting Starkey in a new light, that of a lover. The date is evidently before 1522, while he was still a young man, and it is written with a curious admixture of Italian, which shows plainly that he had not perfectly mastered the French tongue.¹

Much as I have often blamed nature because she has not placed windows in the breasts of men, so that their feelings might be understood without words, much more I now blame her, being as I am in a foreign country, so that I cannot in fit terms express my feelings towards you.

But true affection may often be expressed in rude and unpolished language: believe not, therefore, that these are the

*Combien*² au temps passe quant je pensoys de les oueres de nature il me sembloyt, che dan la male forme la nature des homes, pur ce che na pas fayt quelch petytes fenestres dauant le cure, affyn che sans parolles on les pouyt cognoystre laffectyon, touteffoys au present Je le troue plus graunt faute che jamays parauant, dautant che je constitue en vn pays estraunge la ou je ne puy exprymier auec parolles ou termes ce che mon pouer cour panse. neanmoyns, quant je me souuyent de vostre graunt humanyte & cure benygne, cela me ha balliva (?) peu de hardyesse pur ourye la buche, en faysant croyre ausi che vous non regarderay poynt la rudesse de mes parolles, mays tant seulement laffectyon du mon cure, le quel se monstra volontyer plus souant en rudes parolles, che en elegantes & bien composees: et affyn che je ne vous donne trop grand fascherye auec mes lettres en peu de parolles je vous

¹ *State Papers, Henry VIII., Public Record Office.*

² Byen souant was written first, then altered to *Combien*.

declaryreray lyntentyon de mon cure,¹ mays au commencement je vous supplie, madame, de vous persuader, che ces parolles ensuyuant sont escript non pas avec loueur vyle & commune, mays avec les vyue sprytes de mon coure. Depuys le primer jur che jay veus la beuty synguler & la bonne grace che est en vous, et depuyse² che jay cogneu & expymente la honte honeste avec les synguler vertues, jay este pryns de vn si synguler affectyon envers vous, che jamays depuys mon pouer cour a este au sa lyberty acustumee: il non panse ne juor ne nuyt de altre chose synon de vous, et de telle sorte est rauy che me semble che yl est plus verytablement avec vous che avec moy. Yl ha lasse mon corps toute desolee, sans joy & sans pleysyr, comment vous pourays voyr si jammays vous aues prynt gard de cela: et aushi vous voyes laffectyon de mon cure. mays anchore, affyn che vous saches la qualyte de icelle voys moy madame. Il non tende a aultre fyne si non de vous fayre honoure & serveyce, et comme de vous vertues lha sa source & fountayne, ausy en icelles, ha son fyne, comme je vous declareray plus largement quant a la vostra bonna grace playre che je parleray a vous de ce purpos. Et purce, madame, je vous supplie par lamor che vous porte al honour & honestete de bonys gentylhomys che lamor & laffectyon che je porte envers vous est si honeste che vous playse daccepter de bone cure, affyn che vous me restituer en mon liberty & che de cela. Sè vous aues lu cecy je vous supplie de relayer plus dylygement & prenes les lettres escriptes a vous, purce che vous estes la dame a la quele je suys plus subieete che au dame en ce monde: vous aues mon pouer cour a vostre commandement & purce je vous supplie trete luy gentylment selon.

words of common praise but rather of deep affection of the heart.

From the first day that I beheld your singular beauty and grace,

my heart, as a captive, has been able to think of nothing but you,

of your honour and your service:

as I trust to declare to you in words when it shall please you to speak with me.

When you have read these few words over, read them again and again, since you are the one to whom alone in the world my heart is captive.

Here again we have Starkey in an unexpected character. Apparently he had forgotten himself at a dinner, and under the influence of drink had used language unfitted for a theologian and a philosopher. There is no clue to the date of this letter, which is reprinted from the original in the Record Office.

¹ Mon cure is written over mes lettres erased.

² Written in the margin there is here as follows, but without any connection or caret:—le cuer non serrai (?) iamays repos che ha fiance en chose mortalle o che ame plus le choses mortales che immortales, car lamor desordonee est la causa de toutes les maulx en ce monde, comme bien ordonee est causa de toute bienus (?)

Well did Pliny say that nothing in this world was more difficult than to judge the life and character of a man,

than whom not even Proteus himself was more changeable.

As philosophers and theologians should of all men be the most quiet and forbearing,

what could be more foolish and unbecoming than for a theologian so to forget himself as, under the influence of wine, to use scurrilous language, as you did at our friend Wittinton's dinner. Wherefore, my dear Starkey, repent, and show yourself, as before, a pattern of sobriety, modesty, and self-restraint.

Quum multa alia docte atque prudenter Plinius scripserit, tum illud mihi *quam* prudentissime ac sapientissime dixisse videtur vitam hominis multos recessus habere multasque latebras, vt plane nihil sit difficilius *quam* de vita ac moribus hominum iudicare. Nam doctrina si qua est in aliquo, si qua dicendi vis ac eloquentia, facile seipsam prodit atque erumpit. Nec domini latere potest vtque vltro sese plerumque gestiat proferre ac diffundere. At mores hominis difficilius cognoscuntur mutanturque sepius; Vt nihil sit homine fere versipellius nihil mutabilius; Non proteus ille, quouis etiam Chamelionte versutior ac mutabilior, vt multa alia omittam. An non videmus fere mansueto ac miti ingenio homines remissos admodum ac tarde indolis vltra modum excandescere? Nam quemadmodum nihil est his hominibus odiosius qui sese sapientes existimant nihil non sibi, amicis autem parum tribuentes, nusquam non molesti, contumaces, loquaces, refractarii—qualem te minime esse iudico—sic contra nihil his amabilius qui aliis plurimum, sibi autem nihil aut parum arrogantes, de suo etiam jure vbique decedere parati, ne dicam alieno: multum se intra suas vires contrahunt modestique silent; audientes libenter iudicium suspendunt, aut certe de quocumque iudicare parum tutum esse putant ac plerumque etiam temerarium. Contentio enim pro re parua sicuti mulierum ac sophistarum propria est. Ita virorum est moderata ac tempestiua taciturnitas maxime philosophorum ac theologorum, qui vt nomine ipso patet non de quibuscumque rebus loqui debeant sed de deo ac diuinis, et fratrum amicorumque infirmitates et animi motus quosdam equo animo ferre, secundum illud evangelium, 'ne dicas fratri tuo, raha,' Quid enim, vt probe nosti, fertili theologo stultius aut intolerabilius? Porro quid minus conuenit homini theologo quam scurrilibus ludis ac jocis et, vt domestico vtamur vocabulo, quates (?) theologieque sessionis grauitatem inflectere cena communis nostri amici Wittinton. Id fecit ac meus vino flagrans continuisque potibus madula non potest non variis tum desideriis tum affectibus estuare. Quare, mi Starke, vtraque manu aut si manibus hieronimo lapide pectus contundas ad iterum ad sobrietatis, modestie, verecundie, taciturnitatis exemplar mihi ceterisque amicis omnibus imitandum te conuertas. Nemo nunquam sic a sese degenerauit vt non facile rursum mansuescat si modo culture vt Horacius inquit pacientem commodet aurem. Vale.

§ 19. The following letter in Starkey's handwriting,¹ and apparently addressed to Cromwell, seems to refer to his *Exhortation*. In it he protests against its being considered a fault in his book that he had inclined neither to the one side nor the other, a feature which he himself considers as the "chefe vertue of the oratyon." Moreover, considering the persons to whom it was addressed, he thinks he had gone into the point quite as much as was necessary. At the close he intimates his intention of publishing "a certayn fantasye," by which he probably means his *Dialogue*.

Syr, I had thought thes days past to haue spoken vn to you concernyng the lytyl oratyon wych lately I wryte & your sentence of the same, but bycause I haue seen you euer so occupyd, I haue not wythout cause hytherto abstaynyd, fearyng I schold trowbel your necessary besynes wyth my communycatyon. Wherfor I schal besech you thes few wordys in wrytyng to accept, aftur your custumyd maner, & then to rede at your conuenient leyser. Syr, syth you schowyd me of late what you thought of the boke, I haue perusyd the thyng agayn & weyd hyt wyth my seife somewhat more dylygently, &, playnly to confesse vn-to you the truthe, thys I wyl say, that as you haue jugyd of the mater so hyt ys indede; thys mean ys not put out at large wych you requyre, wherin you haue jugyd aftur a-nother sort then some other haue downe to whome you dyd exhylte the thyng to rede, who, the chefe vertue of the oratyon, yf ther be any therin conteynyed, as I vnderstode, haue notyd for a grete faute, & that was bycause I apperyd to be ouer vehement agayn the one extremyte, & to be of nother parte, but betwyx both indyfferent, the cause of the wych jugement I wyl not touch but leue to your prudence. but, syr, to you I schal speke as I thynke, wych ys thys—that, euen lyke as you haue downe in al other thyngys, wherof at any tyme hyt hath plesyd you to talke wyth me, euer touchyd the stryng & knot of the mater, in so much that of your communycatyon I haue geddryd more frute of truth then I haue downe of any other man lyuyng syth I cam here to my cuntrey, so you haue downe vndowtydly in thys, for thys mean wych you requyre ys not at lengtht set out in my boke, nor I can not tel whether my wyt be suffycient or abul therto, for this mean in al thyng ys a strange stryng, hard to stryke apon & wysely to touch, for by thys the armony of thys hole world ys conteynyed in hys natural course & bewty: by thys al cyuyle ordur & pollycy ys maynteynyd in cytes & townys wyth gud cyuyltye: by thys mannys mynd wyth al kynd of vertue garnyschyd ys brought to hys quyetnes & felycyte, and by thys here

¹ *State Papers, Henry VIII, Public Record Office.*

in our purpos al gud & true relygyon wythout impyety or supersteycon ys stablyschyd to goddys honowre & glory among al chrystyan natyonys. Werfor to set out thys mean, as hyt ys a thyng most hyely to be desyryd, so my wytt & capacitye hyt for-passyth; & yet the mater I haue some what touchyd, & perauenture, as much as ys necessary for them to whom I dyrectyd my communycatyon, for as to the pepul thys partycular mean fully to presente I thynke hyt schold not nede, to whome you know obedyence ys more necessary to thyngys decreed by commyn authoritye then scrupulose knolege & exacte dysquysytyon, the wych thyng perteynyth to hyar philosophy. And for thys cause I thynke in the Conceyl of nece the summe of our fayth was geddryd & brought in to certayn artycles & so propownyd *in simbolo* to al chrystyan natyonys as a thyng to be had in hart sufficyent to the pepul wythout ferther dysquysytyon, and in the rest euer gynyng meke obedyence to the ordur & custume in euery cuntre stablyschyd wyth concord & vnyte: and thys same thyng apperyth sufficyent to me that the pepul & body of the commynalty, euery man dowyng hys offyce & duty as he ys callyd & by goddys prouysyon appoyntyd here in thys wordly pollycy, schold hang apon the commyn ordur in euery cuntre & leyn ther-vnto wyth sure fayth & expectatyon of euer-lasting lyfe, here aftur to be had by the mere benefyte & gudnes of god, who to vs, so trustyng in hym, hath made such promys of hys benygnyte. Thys ys the most sure knot aftur my judgment of al chrystyan cyuylte, to the wych yf any pryncate person repugne sedyeyously, mouyd by any scrupule of conseyence supersteycously conceyuyd, yf he may nother be brought to knolege by gud instructyon, nor yet to obedyence wyth gentyl admonytyon, he ys not worthy to lyue in that commyn pollycy, nor to be a membyr therof, as one that abhorryth from al gud ordur & cyuylte; nor other wyse than he doth apon the other syde, who, by arrogant opynyon hyghly conceuyd, al rytys & custumys ecclesiastical vturly despysyth & tredyth vnderfote: of the wych ij sortys I feare ther ys no small nombur here in our natyon, as I haue before more largely notyd. But Syr I trust that the gudnes of hym who hathe inspyryd in-to the hart of our prynce thys alteratyon of pollycy schal also gyue hym grace to fynd out the most conuenient mean to set hyt forward wyth a commyn quyetnes, to hys honowre & glory, for the wych I wyll not cesse to pray, for to other thyng lytyl seruyth my power & capacitye; and yet syr thys one thyng I dare affyrme & boldly say, that, though in my oratyon I haue not presentyd at length thys mean wherof you spake most prudently, yet yf ther were any such powar in my wrytyng & probabyl persuasyon wych myght induce in-to the hartys of the pepul of the scrupulose sorte such obedyence as I haue ther touchyd, schowyng also the maner how they schold ther-to be inducyd, I wold not dowte, I say, but that in concord & vnyte they schold agre wythout scrupule of conseyence to al such thyngys as here be decreed by commyn authoritye. But thys lyth not in my

powar, wherefor I schal commyt al to the prouydenche of god, reseruyng yet a certayn fantasie herin to my selfe, wych I wyl, yf hyt may so plesse you, at conuenient leyser open vn-to you, the mean tyme besechyng you to pardon me of thys my rudenes in wrytyng, the wych I pray you, yf hyt be your plesure, when you haue red, commyt to the fyre.¹

§ 20. I have reserved the following letter² for the last, not only as being in my opinion the latest in date, but also inasmuch as it is that in which Starkey dedicates his *Dialogue* to Henry VIII., and explains his motives in writing it. It does not help us much in ascertaining the date of that work: we can only see that it was after June 1536, since Pole's book is referred to; and if Strype is correct in stating that Lupset accompanied Pole to Rome (see p. xlv), it must have been after January 1537. The true date I believe to be about June 1538, since it is not at all probable that Starkey would have ventured to dedicate to Henry a book in which Pole was so favourably introduced, or to speak of him so highly in the present dedication, while his bitter language was still fresh in the king's mind.

Long and much at sundry tymis I haue *with* my selfe, most nobull prince, reasonyd and consideryd to what end and porpos man by nature schold be creat and brought forth here in to this lyght, for though man so lyue *commynly* giuing himselfe to all wordly vanyte as ther were in him nothing *immortall* and heuenly, yet wen I be hold his gudly forme, fascyon, and stature, *with* so much comly be-hauyur, and then considur also his grete wit and pollyci wyth such a meruelouse memory, that all thinges therby he comprehendith, I cannot but thinke that he ys formyd and made to a hier end and porpos then any other lyuing creature [on] erthe; I cannot but thinke and playnly iuge that he ys brought forth to the intent that all such giftys as be to him by the benefyte of nature and gudness of god aboue all other mortall creaturys *giuen* he schold *commyn* and aply to the profyt [of] other and setting forth of goddys glory, to the wych porpos me semyth euer he schold dyrect and appoynt all his actys and dedys, *consellys* and thoughtys, as to the chiefe end shortly to say aftur my iugement to the wych he ys borne and of nature brought forth. and so by this *consideratyon* mouid long and many a day most nobull prince much desirouse I haue byne to *serue* your grace and my cuntrey imploring such giftys as of his mere gudnes hit hath plesid him god to *comyn* vnto me must gladly in your *seruyce*

¹ Endorsed in a late hand. "Cranmere, as I suppose. A declaracion of worke w^{ch} he had mynded to publishe."

² *State Papers, Henry VIII., Public Record Office.*

to the setting forth of goddys honowre and glory, to the wch I juge myselfe so to be burden of ryght dewty, that except in some parte occasyon *serue* me to satysfye the same the rest of my lyfe schall appear vnto me both tedyouse and displesant. wherfor seing that nother tyme nor place hath not yet *seruid* me nor mynistryd occatyon of declaring myn affect and ardent desire concerning the same I haue now alate in leyser and quietnes geddrid certayn thinges by long obseruatyon and put them in wryting wch I trust to your gracys wysdome and jugement schall appear to this tyme nothing dysconuenyent, after that I haue a lytill at large openid vnto your hig[h]ness the processe of the mater and the cawse wch hath mouid me now at this tyme to the writing of the same. aftur that I had spent parte of my youth in the study of philosophi and therby somewhat perceyuid the dygnite of mannys nature inflamyd I was with a grete desire to take *sum* experyence of the manerys of other pepull in strange natyon to the intent I myght therby of such thinges wch I had in bokys red, geddur and confyrme a more stabull and sure jugement: wherapon I went streyght in to the cuntre of Italy, as to the place most famyd both with grete lerning and gud and just pollyci, by the reson wherof glad I was ther certayn yiris to be *conuersant* as dilygently as I cowd obseruing ther lerning ther in hye philosophy as ther manerys and praetyse in *commyn* pollysi, by the wch obseruatyon I was somewhat better instructe at my return into myn owne cuntrey indyfferently to considur & wey the custunys and manerys of myn owne cuntremen with the polycy vsid here in our natyon, whereapon I lokyd as a stranger as me thought in no parte corrupt by any affectyon, but indyfferent jugement euery thing examyning: and so well noting the manerys here vsid at home and comparyng them with other vsid in straunge natyon I haue fund grete correctyon with much abuse in law and pollyci wherof by long obseruatyon I haue geddryd a certayne commentary and compylid as hit were a lytill boke of the same. The processe whereof I will bre[ve]ly vnto your grace open and schow now at this tyme, for as much as [I] perceyue your highness now nothing more curith and hath in mynd than the extyrpatyon of all abusys both in custume and law by processe of time grown in here in this your *commynwelth*, by the reson whereof grete hope I haue onys yet to see that veray and true *commyn* wel whereof I haue with myselfe fansid here in your reame to haue place and by your high wysdome and pollyci here to be stablschid and set to the grete comforte of this present age and of all our posteryte. and for as much as my porpos ys in this commentary to tuch the *maner* and mean of the restytutyon of this true *commyn* wele and Iuste pollyci I haue deuiding the boke in to iij partys in the fyrst openid as far as my pore wite and sklender lernyn[g] wyll *serue* what thing hit ys that men so much speke of and call a *commynwele* or a gud and Iust pollicy, and wherein hit principally stonidith and chefely is grondyd: in the seconde part I haue geddryd as my lytill experyence hath *seruyd* me

the most *commyn* and notabull abusus, both in manerys custummys and all *commyn* lawys wych in proses of tyme are entryd among vs, wereby we are slippyd from that gud and iuste pollicy: and in the theyrd parte fynally I haue touchid the maner and mean how thes abusys both in custum and law may be reformyd and the treu *commyn* wele a-mong vs restoryd. and for bycawse the resitutyon hereof lyth chefely in the prouydence of god, and your hie wysdom and pollicy, I haue now vsid this boldness to present this rude *commentary* vnto your maiesty trusting therby to put your grace in remembrance and to mynistur some oecatyon of the innuentyon of many other more *conuenient* meanys of the restoryng of this *commyn* welle, then other my wyt or capacite [can] consyue or attayne, for I dowt not at all, but that the gudnes of him, who hath gyuen your hienes lyght of jugment aboue the rest of princeys now reyning in our days, by the reson whereof you haue vtterly plukkyd vp the rote of all abuse, this vtward powar and intolerabull tyranny of rome, wherwith the christyan natyon long hath byne oppressyd by pretext and colour of relygion, I dowt not, I say, but the same gudnes of god shall inspyre your most nobull harte with such lyght and knolege that to your heynes hit shaH be, aftur so long vse and experyence had in this your reyne to see and perceue the most *conuenient* mean of the vtur extyrpatyon of all other lyke abusyon. this hope and sure trust I haue wych hath so incorragid me that I haue not fayned to exhibyte to your grace this rude *commentary* the wych I haue formyd in a dyaloge and a famylyar *commynicatyon* had betwyxt ij of your gracys most true and fayfuH *seruantys* and subiectys, of the wych the one ys depertyd to the *seruyce* of him as I trust, to whome aH *christian* hartys relygiously here *serue* in erth, Thomas Lupset of wych, if hit had pleasid god, your grace schold haue had true and fayfuH *seruyce*, the other ys yet I trust in lyfe, Maister Raynold Pole, of whose *virtue* and gudnes, yf he coud haue seen that thing by his lernyng wych your most notabuH clarkys in your reame and many other hath approuyd, your heynes schold haue had before this *certayn*, and sure experyence, of thee wych thing also yet I dow not vtterly dyspeare, for I trust hit shalnot be long before he shall declare vnto your grace of his wysdome and Iugment playne and manyfest arg[u]ment, and the mean tyme I shall most humbly besech your heynes that hit may plesse yow at your *conuenient* leyser to obserue the *commynicatyon* be twyx his old frend Maister Lupset and him hereaftur *comprysyd*, frome the wych I wyH no longur¹ let your grace by this rude preface beseching¹ your hienes what so euer hit be to except hit with your *acustomyd* humanyte much more regardding my wyll then my dede, wych ys and euer shall be to the vttermust of my powar but to *serue* your pryncely mayeste to your honowre and goddys glory.

¹ The words *frome the wych I wyll no* are repeated by mistake in MS.

§ 21. Extract from the *Jewel of Joy*, by Thomas Becon, referred to above, p. xlviii.

Trueth it is. For I my selfe know many townes and villages sore decayed, for y^t where as in times past there wer in some town an hundred housholdes there remain not now thirty, in some fifty, ther are not now ten, yea (which is more to be lamented) I knowe townes so wholly decayed, that there is neyther sticke nor stone standing as they vse to say.

Where many men had good lyuinges, and mayntained hospitality, able at times to helpe the kyng in his warres, and to susteyne other charges, able also to helpe their pore neighbours, & vertuously to bring vp theyr children in Godly letters and good seyences, nowe sheepe and conies deuoure altogether no man inhabiting the afore sayed places. Those beastes which were created of God for the

Psal. i. c.
[viii. 6, 7.]

nouryshment of man doe nowe deuoure man. The Scripture sayeth that God made both shepe and oxen wyth all the beastes of the field subiecte vnto man, but now man is subiect

Beastes
about men.

vnto them. Where man was wonte to beare rule there they now beare rule. Where man was wont to haue hys liuing, there they nowe onely lyue. Where man was wonte to inhabyte, ther they now raign and grease. And the cause of all thys

Gentlemen
Shepmongers.

wretchednesse and beggery in the common weale are the greedy Gentylnen, whyche are shepemongers and grasyars.

Whyle they study for their owne priuate commoditie, the common weale is lyke to decay. Since they began to be shepe Maysters and feders of cattell we neyther had vyttayle nor cloth of any reasonable pryce. No meruayle, for these forstallars of the market, as they vse to saye haue gotten all thynges so into theyr handes, that the poore man muste eyther bye it at their pryce, or else miserably starue for hongar, and wretchedly dye for colde. For they are touched with no pity toward the poore. It is founde true in them that S. Paul

Philip. ii. [21]

wrighteth. Al seke their own aduantage and not those thynges which belong vnto Iesu Christ. They whiche in tymes past wer wont to be fathers of the contry, are now pollers and pyllers of the contry. They which in times past wer wont to be the defenders of the poore, are now become the destroyers of the same. They by whom the common weale sometime was preserued, are now become the Caterpillers of the common weale, and suche as seme by their maners to haue made a solemne vow vtterly to subuert the common weale, and to procure y^e final destruction of the same. They are insatiable woulfes. They know no measure. So they may reigne, they care not who suffer pain. So they may abound, they care not who fal to the ground. So they may be enriched, they care not who be enpouershed. Thei ar right brothers of Cain, which had rather slea his brother Abel, than he should haue any part with him

of worldly possessions. The wyse man sayeth the bread of the nedy is the life of the pore, he y^t defraudeth him of it, is a mansleare. Do not these ryche worldlynges defraude the pore man of his bread, whereby is vnderstand al things necessary for a mans lyfe, which through their insaciable couetousnes sel al things at so hie price, and suffer townes so to decay that the pore hath not what to eate nor yet where to dwell! What other are they than, but very manslears?

*Gene. iiii.
Eccle. xxxiii.
[21.]*

*Bread what it
signifieth.*

Marke well.

They abhorre the names of Monkes, Friers, Chanons, Nonnes, &c. but their goods they greedely gripe. And yet where the cloysters kept hospitality let out their fermes at a reasonable pryce, noryshed scholes, brought vp youth in good letters, they did none of all these thinges. They lyghtlye esteme, and in a maner contemne Priestes, parsons, vicares, Prebendaries, &c. yet their possessions they gladly embrace and niggardly retain. So that nowe they are become in effect although not in name, verye Monkes, Friers, Chanons, Priestes, Persons, Vicares, Prebendaries and at the last what not? and yet how vainly those goods be spent, who seeth not?

Rom. ii.

The state of England was neuer so miserable, as it is at this present. Good Lorde haue mercy upon vs and put in the hartes of the king and of his counsell to redres these intolerable pestilences of the common weale, or els make hast to dissolue this wretched world by thy glorious comming vnto the iudgement: where thou shalt render to euery man accordyng to hys dedes, least if we longe remayne in this to much wretchednesse, we be compelled throughe pouerty to attempt vnrighteous thinges, and forswear the name of our Lord God. (Becon, *Works*, 1564, Vol. II. fol. xvi. back—fol. xvii.)

Pro. xxx.



APPENDIX.

EXTRACT FROM THE

Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise,

COMPOSED OF LATE IN MEATRE ROYALL
BY THE SYMPLE AND VNLEARNED

SIR WILLIAM FORREST, PREEISTE.

MS. REG. 17 D 3.

OF William Forrest, the author of the work from which the following extract is taken, we know but little. He tells us himself, in the Prologue to his *History of Joseph*, that he was "sometyme chapylayne to the noble Queene Marye." It is evident, as Warton says, that he "could accommodate his faith to the reigning powers;" for although he is believed to have been a retainer of Cardinal Wolsey, he did not hesitate, after the fall of the latter, to speak of him in terms hardly less strong than those of Skelton. During the reign of Edward VI. he wrote and dedicated to the Duke of Somerset a metrical translation of the Psalms, as well as the *Pleasaunt Poesye*, and in the last year of Mary's reign he dedicated to her his *History of Grisild the Second*, which he says himself he had written twenty years previously, but which he had judiciously suppressed during the reign of Edward VI.

Besides the *Pleasaunt Poesye*, Forrest was the author of the following works:—

A Life of the Blessed Virgin, and numerous short poems, preserved in MS. Harl. 1703.

A Metrical Version of the Psalms, referred to above, dated 1551 MS. Reg. 17 A xxi.

"A true and most notable History of a right noble and famous Lady produced in Spayne entitled the second Gresiield, practised

not long out of this time in much part tragedious as delectable both to hearers and readers." This is a panegyric on Katharine of Arragon, whom the author compares to patient Grisild, and her husband to Earl Walter. The original MS. is in the Bodleian, being No. 2 of Ant. à Wood's MSS., and was edited for the Roxburghe Club in 1875 by the Rev. W. D. Macray.

The History of Joseph, dedicated to the Duke of Norfolk, and finished 11th April 1569. MS. Reg. 18 C xiii., and Univ. Coll., Oxford, No. 88.

A full account of these works, as well as all the particulars of Forrest's life known to us, will be found in the Introduction to Mr Macray's *History of Grisild the Second*.

The *Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelye Practise* professes to be a translation from a work composed by Aristotle for the use of his pupil Alexander the Great :—

"This symple booke whiche yee in hande nowe haue,
I haue comprised in sorte as yee see,
firste deuised by **Aristotele** graue
Vnto kinge **Alexandres** maiestee" [*lf. 3, back*].

In reality the work is a version of the treatise written by Ægidius Romanus towards the close of the 13th century, with the title *De Regimine Principum*, which itself is a translation or rather paraphrase of the *Secreta Secretorum*, a spurious compilation attributed to Aristotle. (See *Warton*, ed. *Hazlitt*, III. pp. 19, 20.)

The book opens with a "prologue vnto the kinges maiestie **Elwa de** the Sexthe, descriuinge partelie y^e fruite of this notable warke whiche heere dothe ensue." The second chapter is a "notable description what a kinge is, And what signification in his regales, as Anoyntinge, Swoorde, bawle, scepture, crowne, and Throne dothe reste." This is succeeded by several chapters on the duty of a king towards God, and at leaf 28 the author treats of "the maner and solacyng moste conuenient for a kyng, bothe at table, in the feeldis, and other places, at tymes suche as hee shall thinke pleasinge too his mynde to Recreat his spyrytis:" thus he recommends—

"Dyner onys ended rise not vpp lightelye,
haue then some noyse of musycall sownde,
as harpe, vyall, lute or some symphonie;
Virgynalls, rybecke, withe Taberlet rownde,
Semblyblye handeled in their monochorde" [*lf. 29, bk.*].

or else —

“Att tables, chesse, or cardis awhile *your* selfe repose.”

Chapter 13 shows “howe a kynge ought too marrye, what wise and circumspecte weyes hee shall vse yn chusyng his Ladye, and soueraigne spowes: And howe hee shall in moste amyable wyse chearische, looue, and make of her.”

“**A kynge** godde forbeade too bee nuefanglede,
his wief texchaunge for his lustis dalyaunce;
thearefore make searche if shee bee entanglede.”

“Too marye for looue” he thinks “more decent” than “too matche for riches or Realms domynyon.”

“A younge Damoyzell her mynde too let fall
Vpon an olde jaade, that is his luste paste;
Or a fresche youngelinge vpon an olde wiche,
too herke thearunto, it makethe my backe iche” [*lf.* 40].

Directions for the proper treatment of ambassadors, the administration of justice, the education of the king's children, and a strict inquiry into the misery of the poor follow, and are succeeded by the passage here reprinted.

Chapter 22 shows “Howe a kyng owght too bee muche desyrowse too knowe thopynion of his commons towardis hym by thexploration of some secreat seruant whome hee doithe beste credite,” —a suggestion in fact for the establishment of political spies.

“Wayne clatteringe ofte risethe men emonge,
And owte of doubte their tungen shall walke and chatt,”

and therefore

“**Some** secreat Seruaunte let hym owte espye,
that hath Discretion and prenaunte wytt:
to walke abroade in sorte moste secreatlye,
in Commone companyes to tawlke and sytt:
And what he heeareth for to commende ytt,
other disprays, to this ende and effecte
that hee maye so walke withoute all suspecte” [*lf.* 74].

Although we cannot say much for the poetry of the book, yet it is noticeable for some of the suggestions made in it—suggestions which have since been carried into effect, and become part of our system of domestic government. Such, for instance, are the author's proposals for compulsory education, free to those unable to pay the

requisite fees ; and for the appointment of an "overseer or controller," corresponding to our School-Board officer. Again, we have his suggestion for a general valuation of all land by government commissioners, such valuation to form the basis on which rents, rates, &c. should be calculated.

Passing by the author's complaints of the oppression of the poor, I would point out his appeal for true and just dealing on the part of cloth manufacturers, which comes home to us with especial force at the present time, when we hear so many complaints as to the "dressing," the "shoddy," and other adulterations practised in England.

The Royal MS. 17 D 3 is a small folio parchment volume of 78 leaves, besides several which are blank, the work being, as shown by the index, incomplete. In the "table conteynynge the title of all and singulare the Chapters in this present booke," which begins on leaf 4, 37 chapters are designated, and we are further told that "at the ende of this warke shall ensue certaine narrations / exemplifyinge sundry of the maters of the aforesaide tytles, to be fownde by the figures at thende of the saide titles / or their chapters."

There are, however, only 24 chapters in the MS., nor does it appear that ever there existed any more.

The book is presented in the first instance to the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, in order that it may have his approval previous to its being offered to the king. The dedication is as follows :—

To the moste worthie and famouse Prince Edwarde, Duke of Somerset, Earle of Herteforde, Vicounte Beaucham, Lorde Seymour, Vncle vnto oure moste dreade soueraigne lord, kinge Edwarde the Sexthe, Protectour also ouer his moste royall person, Realmes and Dominions, bee honour, healthe, and Hyghe prosperite, Withe (after this lief) aeternaH foelicite, So wisshethe his daylie Oratour sir William forreste, preeiste" [*leaf 2*].

Following this is a short address of 16 stanzas to the duke.

On leaf 7, back, is a drawing representing the author presenting his work to Edward VI., who is seated, crowned, on his throne. Forest himself is represented as a young man in a priest's gown, and with long flowing hair not tonsured.

On leaf 8 follow the title and dedication of the book as under :—

HERE ensuithe A notable warke / called the pleasaunt poesye of princelie practise composed of late in meatre royall by the symple and vnlearned / *sir* William forrest preciste, muche parte collecte owte of A booke entiteled The gouernaunce of noblemen, which booke the wise philosopher Aristotele / wrote too his discypyle Alexandre / the great and mightie Conqueroure.

1548.

To the moste mightie and puisaunte Prynce Edwarde the Sexthe, kynge of Engelande / Fraunce / and Irelande, Defendour of the faithe And heere in earthe (yndren christe) the supreme heade of bothe Churches / Engelande / and Irelande, bee regne in state moste fortunate : with thuppren hande ouer his enemies alweyes / thorowe his ayde / by whome all kynges heere dothe governe.

William Forrest.

SUMMARY OF THE EXTRACT.

After a short disquisition on the origin of civilization and monarchies, he (lxxxvii/14)¹ refers to the means adopted by the rich to keep up prices, viz., by buying up grain of all sorts, and only allowing it to find its way into the market by driblets ; he (lxxxviii/16) reminds the king that the great support of the throne is the “more some,” and protests (lxxxviii/18) against foreigners becoming rich at the expense of Englishmen, and concludes the chapter (lxxxix/21) by complaints as to the ruinous fines inflicted by landlords on their tenants.

The next chapter opens with a protest against idleness, the “patrones of all maner myschief” (xci/5) ; he suggests (xci/8) the issuing of a proclamation appointing the stocks or flogging as the punishment of idlers, and those who “at ale howse sitt, at mack or at mall, tables, or dyce, or that cards men call.” Children he thinks should be sent to school at the age of *four* (xcii/12), and as a labouring man may not be able to pay for his children’s schooling, he would have free schools in every town (xcii/13) ; and an overseer to look up idlers and children (xciii/17), who is to have £3 or £4 a year, and must be an honest townsman (xciii/19), and be appointed for one year on probation (xciii/19). Leaving this subject, he turns to wool,

¹ The numbers in brackets refer to the pages and stanzas ; thus lxxxvii/14 means p. lxxxvii stanza 14.

that great commodity for which come many "suetours" (xciv/21), and for which Englishmen have to pay sixfold price through allowing it to be exported in the raw state by "Foryners and Turks" (xciv/22). After telling us the rate of wages, 1*d.* to 2*d.* a day (xcv/26), he complains of the great rise in prices (xcv/27), in rents (xcv/29) and in meat (xcv/30). Englishmen, he says, can't live on roots and herbs, or "such beggerye baggage;" they must have meat, "after their olde vsage" (xcv*/33).

In the next chapter he reverts to wool, which should not be exported raw (xcvi/4), but made up in England; the cloth to be well shrunk and dressed (xcvi*/6); all faulty cloth to be retained for use at home, lest foreigners should "fynde vs amysse;" for, as he says, "what the Salysman is the ware ofte dothe teache" (xcvi*/6). No wool to be sold at less than ten nor at more than fifteen shillings a tod (xcvii/11).

Leaving wool, he returns to the "raging rentis," which should be restored to their former rate by commissioners, who should fix the valuation of each farm (xcvii/14); reminds the king that the yeomen are the backbone and glory of England (xcvii*/16); declares that bad landlords go straight to hell (xcvii*/19), for they show favour (xcvii*/21), and take away the closes attached to cottages, and yet charge the same rent (xcviii/22). He then complains of the large holdings and sheep-farms (xcviii/25), and of the nobles meddling in trade, "chopping and changing as merket men dothe" (xcviii*/30), and calls on the king to devise some improvement in the condition of the labouring classes, who would be encouraged to work more if their wages were higher (xcix*/39), and who at the lowest should have six or eight pence a day (xcix*/40); they would then be able to marry, and by so doing repeople the towns now deserted and ruined.

¶ Howe a kynge specialle ought tattende and prouyde leaf 54.
 for a Commone Wealthe, and too his powre: too
 abolische vttrelye all kynde of meanys that work-
 ethe anye annoyaunce or hynderaunce vnto the same,
 Caput decimum octauum,

[1]

[I]f men shoulde gather and perpende in mynde, leaf 54, back.
 why kinges and rulers firste ordeyned weare: Monarchies and
 sithe wee are all come of wone stirpe or kynde: offices did not
 this hathe heeretofore benescanned manywheare. 4 exist in the earli-
est times,
 As scarcitee of thinges causethe dearthe tappeare,
 so, in fewe, at this worldis erection
 thinges weare not brought too their due perfection. 7

[2]

By proces as the same can springe and growe, but grew up by
 and men of experience gathered the fruyte: degrees.
 Wone then labored another touerthrowe:
 thorowe highe preamynence too beare the bruyte. 11
 As suche prospered in their saide pursuYTE
 at laste it fell by wyse perswasyon
 men too beare rule and haue domynation. 14

[3]

Whoe, by wisdomes and magnanymyte, At first the Rulers
 ordered their weyes so wondrefull too tell, were the worthiest
 vndre the forme of highe nobyltye: in the state,
 vntoo the peoples contentation so well: 18
 that they them heelde as woorthieste of the bell,
 in peace and warr afore them too take place:
 and they tassiste them in all maner case. 21

[4]

When thus (too rule) men had the State in hande,
 and had woone people at their commaundement:
 they caste all meanys in State suche Still too Stande:
 as bettre too rule then be obeydent, 25
 aduoydinge althinges of daungres immynent.
 by suche behauour of highe woorthynes.
 that more and more their fauour dyd encreas. 28

[5]

In all their Studye and wise compasyng, leaf 55.
 their priuate wealthe they dyd postponerate: and looked after
 the Commune commoditie firste preferryng, the public good
 of those that they had too them made subiugate, 32 rather than their
own advantage.

vndre higheste weies of looue affectionate :
as if thynges Stood in indifferencye
their ayde inclyned too the more partye. 35

[6]

Of wone that thus can fashion his affaires,
as fame the same in due kynde can dylate :
another tooke light too bee of his heires :
in suyng the Steppes of suche men approbate, 39
too whome then was geuen the brute of estate :
as woorshippe, honour and highe nobylitee :
thus woorthye woorkinge sett men firste in degree. 42

[7]

Laws and Political Institutions
were introduced.

As ferdre in reigne grue their contynuaunce,
theye caste and purueyed for the weale publyke :
by moste honeste meanys of lawes ordynaunce :
sought owte wondreslye by witt polytike, 46
In Europe, Asya, and also Affryke.
the barbarouse behauour beastelye and nought :
too Cyuyle maners at the firste was thus brought. 49

[8]

Sythen contynuyng in wondrefull wise,
with the muche furtheraunce too many a Region :
where noble princis moste excellent precise
hathe on them weytinge many a legion, 53
As yee (of the highest) accomptyd for wone,
whois wise endeuer attendethe noles
in semblable sorte too doo your busynes. 56

[9]

leaf 55, back.
The duty of
Princes is to put
down all Vice

Not (as too saye) of free liberalitee.
too chuse in the same whither yee will or not :
but bownden by Office of Principalitee :
nothinge shoulde els more a princis honour blot, 60
what knyttethe too the contrarye too loose the knot.
and what goethe loose in hynderinge the same
too see a restreynte : els are yee too blame. 63

[10]

by severe punish-
ment, and to
promote Virtue.

Off meanys too speake concernynge the saide case.
firste, is too bee had in consyderation :
(by Strete punysching vice in euerye place :)
that Vertue maye bee hadde in digne estymation. 67
when synne so is hadde in detestation,
that whiche seemed (by custome) afore light
shalbee scene odyouse in euerye mannys sight. 70

[11]

Vertue thus mayntenyd and Vice depressed :
 then are the people like the Gardeyne plot,
 that is depured, leauelyd, and dressed :
 too sowe or sett theare what thowner will allot, 74
 As your wisdom and Counseile dothe well wote,
 for the Commune wealthes beste preseruacion :
 nowe maye yee put in exercitacion. 77

In this way will
 the people best be
 advantaged.

[12]

See, and well pondre in all your dooinges,
 whiche thearunto dothe any meane conclude :
 that wone pryuate persone in vse of thinges :
 dothe not annoye or harme a multytude, 81
 wone, withe the luynges of fyue too bee endude :
 of twentie or threscore, eache wise man maye saye,
 the publike weale holdethe not theare the right waye, 84

Private advantage
 must not operate
 against the public
 weal,

[13]

Or if yee schall of affablytee
 vnto some wone suche Libertie graunte
 tenparke or enclose for his Commoditee :
 that, the hynderaunce of moe myght waraunte ; 88
 or any suche weyes taccustome or haunte :
 by byinge or sellynge too others hynderaunce :
 no suche thinge suffrethe a Cynyle ordynaunce. 91

leaf 56.
 either in inclosing
 of commons or in
 trade.

[14]

In tyme of plentie the riche too vpp mucker¹
 Corne, Grayne, or Chafre hopinge vppon dearthe :
 for his pryuate wealth so daylye too hucker :² 93
 this criethe for vengeance too heauyn from the earthe :
 Leste it shoulde happen it many wone fearthe,
 ffor suche solayne snydges³ caste reformation
 by forfeiture too the poores sustentacion. 98

The rich should
 not be allowed to
 hoard up grain, &c
 in order to raise
 prices—

[15]

The poore for neade is dreeuyn too make sale.
 the Riche reserueth and muckerthe vpp more :
 by whiche risethe this commune Prouerbe tale :
 Some muste bee Sauers, Store is no sore ; 102
 so is it indeade if the Riche therfore
 wolde woorke after this neighbourlye deuysse :
 too helpe the poore for a resonable pryce. 105

a cause of great
 distress.

¹ Heape up.

² Higgle, trade.

³ Miserly persons.

[16]

A kingdom is not supported by a few, but by the many,

A kyngis honour, disertlye too aduerte,
is not vpsteyed, mayntened, and fortified
by wone, twoe, or thre, or the fewer *parte* :
but by the more some it hathe euer bene tried. 109
Then ought a kynge for his Commons prouyed,
that wone clubbed cobbe¹ shoulde not so encroche 111
an hundred meynys lyuynge : it weare greate reproche.

[17]

leaf 56, back.
and therefore the few must not be benefited at the expense of the many :

Your realmys Commoditye (in what it dothe consiste,) for twoe or thre too haue the specyall trade,
the publike weale is sore in that place myste,
and goethe too decaye, as flowres doth fall and fade. 116
In this eache Potentate by witt muste wade,
bothe by hym selfe and his wise Counseile :
that pryuate commoditee not so maye preueile. 119

[18]

nor foreigners enriched to the loss of Englishmen.

If merchauntes that be too yow but Straungers,
(althoughe your Custome by them bee copious)
shoulde bee enriched and made great geyners :
your owne hynderyd, and made indigeouse : 123
this weare a mattier (in maner) litigious,
too make them murmure and their hartes withdrawe
from the due obseruation of the Lawe. 126

[19]

Our own countrymen should be looked after before strangers.

Chieflye your owne yee ought too respecte :
for yee of them in your neade may bee bolde :
wheare Straungers passethe not *your* fauour to reiecte,
or in your right title will oughtes withe yow holde. 130
Custome vncumlye : is too bee controlde.
wheare pryuate woorkinge shall shewe euident :
too a Commontie too doo detryment. 133

[20]

Tenants should have security of tenure,

Heere too wryte all too this mattier meanyng
I cannot compase or caste thuttermuste :
but ferdre I shall yeat tuche this wone thinge :
as shalbee pleasinge too your grace I truste. 137
Let not of yours wone another owte thruste
furthe of his lyuynge, his Lease, or his holde :
Res publica thearat her harte wexithe colde. 140

¹ Wealthy, miserly person.

[21]

A pooreman whiche hathe bothe children & wief,
 whoe (withe his parentes) vppon a poore Cotte
 hathe theare manured ¹ manye a mannys Lief,
 and trulye payed bothe rent, scotte, and lotte : 144
 A Couetous Lorde whoe Conscience hathe notte,
 by rent enhauncynge or for more large fyne,
 suche wone too caste owte : it goethe oute of lyne. 147

leaf 57.
 and not be liable
 to pay heavy fines
 for their leases.

[22]

This too bee seene too : the Publike weale criethe :
 of reformation it sittethe your Office :
 manye iniuries too the poore pliethe,
 done by the bygger without all Justice. 151
 As the great fowle the small dothe supprise,
 deuour and eate vpp all flesche too the bone :
 so farethe the riche if they bee let alone. 154

A king should see
 that the weak are
 not oppressed by
 the strong,

[23]

That Kynge (bee sure) can neuer bee poore :
 wheare as his Commons lyuethe welthelye.
 if they bee not able to keepe open doore ;
 it muste withe hym then but small multiplye ; 158
 ffor kynges of their Commons sumtyme muste ayde trye.
 The more therfore the publike weale dothe afflowe ; 160
 the more is their wealthe : this reason prouethe now.

for where the
 people are rich
 a king can never
 be poor :

[24]

And true it is, the highe Opificer
 sendethe not his giftes too wone pertycularlye :
 but that a multytude wone withe other,
 the same shoulde particypate mutuallie. 165
 Sithe hee althinges heere dothe make too multiplye
 too thende aforesaide, O kynge, of God electe,
 see then the same stonde in her full effecte. 168

neither did God
 send His gifts for a
 few, but for all.

¹ Laboured with his hands, cultivated.

leaf 57, back.

Howe a kynge ought too deteste ydlenes the moothor of
all myschief and too ordayne meanys too haue his
subiectis euermore occupied in honeste exercises, to
the maytenaunce of theire owne lyuynge and
furtheraunce of the common weale, that the ydle
shall not deuour that which y^e diligent doth truly
get by the labour of their sweate. *Caput. 19.*

[1]

Of Idleness, that
hideous serpent,

[L]ESTE kinges & gouernoures that heere dothe rule
myght this neglecte, whiche is expedyent,
wee shall make remembraunce in this schedule
of **ydlenes**, that hydeouse serpent, 172
whoe, loighteringe like a peasaut pestilent,
Lurkethe in corners vnoccupied :
too doo anye goode : lothe too bee espiede. 175

[2]

which deuours the
fruit of honest
labour :

This beastelye bodye, this mawltische¹ matrone,
deuowres of the true laborers frute :
of nature desirethe too bee let alone : 179
as too contynue in her maners brute.
Too sleepe, eate, and drinke, suche is her sute,
and what els longeth too Lustis dalyaunce,
she is readye too shewe herr furtheraunce. 182

[3]

turning day into
night and night
into day.

The daye in too the nyght shee can conuerte :
the nyght into daye for dalyaunce sake.
too pleye is shee preste, woorke is a deserte :
too hiere therof tawlke herr harte will not wake. 186
Whoe, too herr compenye shee maye onys take,
for scaunyn yearys after I dare the truthe mooue ;
the woorser husbonde hee shall surelye prooue. 189

[4]

leaf 58.
Where Idleness
exists there can be
no profit.

Or bee it woman, in like maner wise,
no profite risethe wheare shee dothe frequent :
but propagation of vice owte of vice :
the prooife shall shewe practice moste euident, 193
Let loyterers lyue as they are content
and they shall plucke too their societee
feloshippe that neauer will after goode bee. 196

¹ Gluttonous.

[5]

Yowthe , brought vpp ydlelye in games and pastyme. not taistinge the trade of honeste busynes : As vice detestethe vnto vertue too clyme : so farethe withe all that loouethe ydlenes ; of all maner myschief shee is Patrones. againste whome the heauyns dothe openlie exclaime : by plage too punysche this ydlenes by name.	200 203	Young persons brought up in idleness will never apply themselves to honest labour.
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[6]

What kynge is hee in this worlde so greate, or Potentate els fewe or manye : what Clarke also in his studynde seate : or whoe that hathe too gouernaunce anye, but moste their tyme liste not too dallye withe ydlenes heere mentioned ? then of their mattiers they myght bee euyl sped.	207 210	Kings and all in authority have no time for idleness ; ✓
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[7]

Kynges can no les but compace searche and caste ; how too proude for the publike weale ; the same too contynue in State Stedfaste : as too eache partie true Justice too deale. Oother Magistrates hauynge like zeale. vnto their Offices dwe admynistration : shoulde loyterers lyue then in their ydle fashion ?	214 217	then why should lazy vagabonds be allowed ?
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[8]

Ffor reformation of suche nowghtye packes bee it proclaimed vnto their earys all : that whoe endeuorethe any suche knackes : at ale howse too sitt at mack or at mall, tables, or dyce, or that Cardis men call. or what oother game owte of season dwe : let them bee punysched without all rescue.	221 224	leaf 58, back. Frequenting of ale-houses and gambling should be severely punished, ✓
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[9]

Owte of season in this sorte too bee take, when dayes of labour are presently come : eache man too his Arte his voyage too take withe willinge harte, not too glomer or glome, ¹ It is Cyuyle iustice and no thraldome. for as the byrde is heere ordeyned too flee : so is man too woorke olde writings tellethe mee.	228 231	for man's lot is to labour.
--	--------------------------------	--------------------------------

¹ Sulk or look gloomy.

[10]

Kings should
exert themselves
to abolish idleness,
which only
ends in poverty.

Trulye I wolde in all that mee liethe,
wright all I cowlde this vice tabolische,
for ydlenes all vertue despisethe,
wheare honeste exercise the lief dothe polische 235
thearfor all kynges I doo admonysche
heereunto too geeue goode aduertence :
for noughtes it breedithe but wretched indigence. 238

[11]

The young should
all be taught some
handicraft.

As in honeste Artis wee wolde haue occupied :
eaueryman after his Vocation :
so wolde wee haue Youthe too Vertue applied,
that are not readye for occupation, 242
of hande crafte too use thadmynistration ;
infantes I mean Vndre Eight yearis of age :
their tyme I wolde thus too bee put in Vsage, 245

[12]

leaf 59.

Children should
be put to school
at four years of
age.

At fowre yearis olde let suche too scoole bee sett,
too gather and lerne some literature :
bye whiche they maye after knowe their due dett
too hym that is Authour of eache creature, 249
bye readinge (in bookes) his will and pleasure ;
for whoe so listethe to remembraunce call,
too woorke in that age their powre is but small. 252

[13]

Schools to be free
to any who cannot
pay the fees.

Leste some, perhaps, at this myght thus obiecte,
The pooreman his childe cannot so prefer :
bycawse hee hathe not substatnce in effecte
for so longe season to fynde his scoler, 256
as (for his schoolinge) too paye his Maister ;
to whiche I answere, it muste prouyded bee :
in eauerye towne the Scoole too go free. 259

[14]

The clergy to
teach in the
schools,

Suche townes whiche hathe a Curate to bee ment
dueties too persolue that bee spirituall :
whome, too bee ydle weare inconuenient,
beyonde all oother, eauen the wurste of all, 263
thearfore, to teache it clothe their office fall,
and bringe vpp yowthe to saye, to singe, or write :
that God too serue, they after maye delite. 266

[15]

and to receive
suitable salary
for so doing.

Suche honeste Stipende towardis hym to remayne,
that for his paynes hee nothinge scholde expecte :

for so longe tyme as afore dothe contayne.
mee thynkethe this sowndethe too goode effecte, 270
If, vnto Office they after bee electe,
when reade they can and their vulgare speache knowe,
their Princis pleasure they maye bettre followe. 273

[16]

When they hathe knowledge indifferentlye so,
too oother Artis then maye theye bee preferde :
and not loyteringe ydleye too go :
thorowe whiche the publike weale is ofte merde :¹ 277
Thearfore, this lesson I wolde to bee herde,
in Townes, (goode ordre too schyne and florische :)
this obseruation I wolde gladlye wische. 280

leaf 59, back.
Children, after
they have left
school, not to be
allowed to idle
about,

[17]

An Ouerseer, **Controwler** to bee calde,
to see vnoccupied none to remayne :
vnles they bee withe sicknessies appalde,
or by debilitie of Age ouerlayne. 284
If case theare bee too punysche them by payne
of *Stockes* or *scowrginges* whiche suche maye compell
to earne their focade els to haue no morsell. 287

on pain of being
placed in the
stocks. ✓

[18]

And the saide Officer to haue by ffee
owte of the towne Coafer thre or fowre pownde :
that for suche Stipende the rather maye hee
to thexecution thearof bee bownde. 291
If in Thoffice hee negligent bee fownde,
to bee depryed withe reproache and shame :
and neauer againe too entren the same. 294

An officer to be
appointed to look
after young
persons,

[19]

In thelection of suche Ouerseer,
this owght (and muste) firste consydrede bee :
that hee bee knowne an honeste towne-beeer,
and hathe a zeale too Cynile equitye, 298
Too cawse hym earnestlie thearto too see :
but wone yeares space let hym thearin endure
excepte hee bee fownde moste fitte for the cure. 301

who must be a
townsman of good
character.

[20]

True it is no lyuyng man this daye
can presentlie for the publike weale frame
so syncerelie the vtremuste too saye,
that maye bee breache or staye too the same, 305

leaf 60.
Fresh regulations
to be made as
occasion may
require,

¹ Marred, damaged.

inviolable too byde withoute blame :
 but, as tyme wearithe (mannys maners vned)
 so muste Custome and lawe bee renewed. 308

[21]

and as may best
 suit the condition
 of the people.

The soyle and people consydered also,
 That will not serue heere that seruithe elswheare :
 some hathe Commoditeis, some lesse, some mo ; 311
 which dothe the Chargis of the publike weale beare,
 bye Merchaundise conueyde heere and theare,
 As, heere in **Englande** wone speciall haue wee : 314
Woolle, for whiche manye greate suetours hither bee.

[22]

Foreigners reap
 all the profit from
 wool,

Off whiche to saye, as my fancye dothe leade,
 (the Judgementis of better not offendyd)
 I wolde it weare duellie consyderede :
 howe **fforyners** by **Woolle** are Assendyd, 319
 and owre weale publike little amendyd,
 for, by owre **Woolle** of Christians and Turke 321
 thowsandis thowsandis hathe daylie handye wurke.

[23]

while Englishmen
 have to buy it
 back at sixfold
 price.

And wee the same of them agayne to bye,
 sixefolde doble price moare then of them had wee :
 Oh ! some witt politike shewe reason whye
 myght not the same heere so perfected bee, 326
 wee, to profite by owre owne Commoditee ?
 If honeste meanys myght bee thearto espied :
 how sholde owre **Commons** then bee occu[p]yed ? 329

[24]

leaf 60, back.
 The sight of so
 many beggars and
 vagrants

So manye **Beggars** sholde not reigne as reigne ;
 so manye **Headye** sholde not for conforte crye ;
 so manye **Rouers** sholde not vse the pleyne ;
 so manye sholde not then lyue **ydllelye**, 333
 A few to profyte, to hynderaunce of manye ;
 As **Thowsandis** to lacke and **Twentie** to abownde,
 Oh, howe it geauethe a myserable sownde ! 336

[25]

ought to induce
 the rich to try to
 improve the
 condition of the
 poor.

Moste worthie it is A kynge to excell,
 in honowre, richesse, and glorye decorate :
Lordys (in degre) in woorthynes to dwell,
 withe **Gentylys** also as sittethe their estate : 340
 and they to the meane to communycate,
 that theye maye lyue bothe Childrene and wife :
 and them not to streyne by meanys excessife. 343

[26]

The Pooreman to toyle for twoe pense the Daye,
 some while thre haulfe pense, or els a penye :
 hauynge wief childrene and howse rent to paye :
 meate clothe and fewell withe the same to bye, 347
 and muche oother thinges that bee necessarye,
 withe manye a hungrye meale susteynyng :
 Alas ! makethe not this a doolefull compleynyng ? 350

How can a poor
 man keep his
 family and pay
 his rent on two-
 pence a day ?

[27]

The worlde is chaunged from that it hathe beene,
 not to the bettre but to the warsse farre :
 more for a penye wee haue before seene
 then nowe for fowre pense, whoe liste to compare. 354
 This suethe the game called makinge or marre. ✓
 Vnto the **Riche** it makethe a great deale,
 but muche it marrethe to the *Commune* weale. 357

And now prices
 have risen four-
 fold,

[28]

Too reyse his Rent alas it neadethe not,
 or fyne texacte for teanure of the same
 fowrefolde dooble, it is a shrewde blot :
 to the greate hynderaunce of some mennys name, 361
 I knowe this to bee true els ware I to blame,
 to mooue this mateir in this present booke :
 at whiche **Respublica** lookethe a-crooke. 364

leaf 61.
 and landlords
 demand fourfold
 rents and fines

[29]

A Rent to reyse from twentie to fiftie,
 of Powndis (I meane,) or shealingis whither :
 ffynynge for the same vnreasonablye,
 sixe tymes the Rent ; adde this together, 368
 muste not the same great Dearth bringe hither ?
 for if the ffermoure paye fowrefolde dooble Rent,
 he muste his ware neadys sell after that stent. 371

so that the farmer
 has to raise his
 prices in propor-
 tion.

[30]

So for that **Oxe**, whiche hathe beene the like solde
 for ffortie shealingis, nowe takethe hee fyue pownde :
 yea, **seaun** is more, I haue herde it so tolde.
 hee cannot els lyue so decare is his grownde, 375
Sheepe, though they neauer so plentie abownde,
 suche price they beare, whiche shame is to here tell,
 that scace the pooreman can bye a morsell.¹ 378

Beef and mutton
 too are so dear
 that a poor man
 cannot afford a
 morsell.

¹ "Howe ioyne they Lordeshyp to Lordeshyppe, manner to manner, ferme to ferme, land to lande, pasture to pasture, house to house, and house for a vantage? Howe do the ryche

[31]

The smallest bit
of beef or mutton
now costs four-
pence. f

Twoe pense (in Beeif) hee cannot haue serued,
other in **Mutton**, the price is so hye :
vndre a groate hee can haue none kerued :
so goethe hee and his to bedde hungrelye, 382
and risethe agayne withe bellies emptie ;
whiche turnethe to tawnye their white english skyn,
like to the swarthie coelored Fflawndrekyn. 385

[32]

leaf 61, back.
Want of animal
food weakens
Englishmen,

Wheare they weare valiaunt, stronge, sturdy, & stowte,
to shoote, to wrastle, to dooe anye mannys feate,
to matche all natyons dwellinge heere abowte,
as hitherto manlye they holde the chief seate ; 389
if they bee pinched and weyned from meate,
I wisse, O kynge, they in penurye thus pende
shall not bee able thye Royalme to defende. 392.

[33]

who can't live on
roots or any such
beggary rubbish. f

Owre Engliche nature cannot lyue by Rooatis,
by water, herbys or suche beggerye baggage,
that maye well serue for vile owtelandische Cooatis :
geene Engliche men meate after their olde vsage, 396
Beeif, Mutton, Veale, to cheare their courage ;
and then I dare to this byll sett my hande :
they shall defende this owre noble Englande. 399

men, and specially suche as be shepemongers
Shepe mongers. oppresse the kynges lyege people by deuourynge
theyr commune pastures wyth theyr shepe, so that the poore
people, are not able to kepe a cowe for the comforte of them
and of theyr poore famylye, but are lyke to starue and peryshe
for honger, yf there be not prouisyon made shortly ? What
shepe ground scapeth these caterpyllers of the commune weale ?
Howe swarme they wyth aboundaunce of flockes of shepe ? and
yet when was wool euer so dere, or mutton of so great price ?
If these shepemongers go forthe as they begyn, the people shall
both miserablye dye for colde, and wretchedly peryshe for
honger. For these gredy woulues and comberous cormerauntes,
wyll eyther sell theyr woll and theyr shepe at theyr owne pryce
or els they wyll sell none.

“ Oh what a diuersytye is thys in the sale of wolles, a stone
of woll somtyme to be solde at viii grots and now for viii S !
And so lykewyse of the shepe. God haue mercy on vs. If
the kynge hys maiestye, wyth hys most honourable counsell
do not proudey for the redresse of these thynges, God hymselfe

wyll surely se a remedye, as he sayeth by the
Psal. xii. [5]. Psalmographe ‘for the wretchednes of the nedye
and the bewaylynge of the pore euen now wyll I ryse, sayeth
the Lorde.’—Thomas Becon, *The Jewel of Joy*, 154— ;
Works, ed. 1564, Vol. II. fol. xv.

[*A space left here for a heading to the chapter.*]

[1]

[T]he Tytle heere nowe whearon wee entreate,
 bicawse it dothe suche weightynes contayne :
 A publike Weale, whiche is a matter greate :
 Wee shall deuyde it into lessons twayne, 403
 declaringe as serueth my symple brayne,
 howe, thorowe God and yowe his Mynyster,
 thinges owte of frame maye bee brought in order. 406

How things out of
 frame may be
 remedied.

[2]

Iff that I heere speake bee to no purpose,
 perdon I haue askte for my symplenes :
 If it maye serue withoute coment or glose :
 moste happelie then seruith this busynes, 410
 Eache mannys writingis dothe not althinges redresse,
 accordinge as his traueling dothe tell :
 thoughe this like so : yeat wolde I althinges well. 413

leaf 62.

[3]

Too saye howe ydlenesse maye bee expellyd,
 and this owre Royalme enriched by the same,
 somewhat thearto all-readye is tellyd :
 for the reasydue wee shall nowe heere frame. 417
Woolle is the thinge wee will steye on, by name,
 thoughe oother thinges moe geauithe assistance : 419
 yeat **Woolle** (for this tyme) shall haue preamynence.

Wool is the chief
 support of
 Englishmen.

[4]

The Woolle that Staplelers dothe gather and packe,
 owte of this Royalme to Cowntreys forayne :
 bee it reuoked and steyed abacke,
 that owre **Cloathiers** the same maye retayne, 424
 all kynde of woorkefolkes heere to ordayne,
 vppon the same to exercise their feate :
 by tuckyng, cardinge, spynnyng, and to beate. 427

It should not be
 allowed to be
 exported raw, ✓

[5]

Weauynge, fullinge, withe Dyinge (if theye liste)
 and what sorte els to Cloathing dothe belonge :
 by suche true handelinge that nothinge bee myste, 430
 whiche myght chalenge their woorkinge to bee wronge ;
 that whearsoeuer they shall come emonge,
 thorowe Christendome or heathenes grownde : 433
 no fawte theare bee in the Woorkemanshippe fownde.

but worked up in
 England. ✓

[6]

leaf 62, back.
There should be
no false dealing in
manufacture of
cloth.

Shrynked befoare and perfected at full,
Gaged and sealed iustelye as it is :
if it bee fawtie in woorkinge or in wooll,
owre foalkes to weare them, I gree beste to this, 438
rather than straungers sholde fynde vs amysse,
for owre false dealinge owre Cowntrey tappeache :
what the Salys-man is the ware ofte dothe teache. 441

[7]

Every town and
village should
have its cloth
factory.

No Towne in Englande, Village, or Burrowe,
but thus withe Cloathinge to bee occupied :
thoughe not in eache place cloathinge cleane throwe :
but as the Towne is, their parte so applied ; 445
✓ Heere **Spynners**, heere **weyuers**, theare cloathes to be
died,
withe **fullers** and **shearers** as bee thought beste :
as the Cloathier maye haue his Cloathe dreste. 448

[8]

The cloth to be
sold to English
dealers.

✓ **When** they haue groaced vnto a some,
of scoarys or hundredis as they appoynte shall :
owre Englishe Merchautes by custome to come,
and them receaue to ouer withe all ; 452
or, bee they fechte bye greement speciall,
by forayne Merchautes as they haue agreeede :
Moneye receaued ; god geeue them goode speede. 455

[9]

A fair export duty
to be levied on
cloth.

Heere is not meaned the kinges maiestee
his Custome to loase or thearof wone Joate
that heeretofore accustomed hathe bee :
but hee to haue still the vttremuste groate ; 459
Befoare they hense passe by Shippinge a-floate.
the Cloathes knowne what of a Packe dothe come ;
and thearto accordinge to paye Custome. 462

[10]

leaf 63.

Withe all other ducties in eauerye place,
both vnto his grace and oother also :
as of conuenyence sittithe the case :
wee will by no meany's theare againste go. 466
but heere this peece wee shall adde nowe vnto,
whiche withe Conscience is muche agreeable,
That **Woolle** maye bee at a price reasonable. 469

[11]

Wool to be sold
at from ten to

The leaste price to bee (the **Todde** accountinge)
not vndre **Ten shelinges** (beeing no reffuse) :

The beste **ffyuetene shealinges** not surmowntinge : fifteen shillings
 betwene theise pricis Conuention to vse. 473 a tod.
 Theise pricis to lymyte let noman muse,
 it hathe beene so seene att within twentie yearis : 475
 and so maye agayne withe helpe of owre hedde pearis.

[12]

But heere liethe a mateir muche Difficulte, Rents must be
 whiche greatlie I feare neauer to take force, lowered,
 thoughte I with manye sholde thearin consulte,
 and crye theare vppon eaunyn till wee weare horse. 480
Pryuate Commoditye withe **Commone** wealth to scorse :¹
 as **Rentis** to come downe from owterage so hye
 too **Price** indifferent to helpe manye bye. 483

[13]

Theis raginge **Rentis** muste bee loked vppon, and fixed at what
 and brought vnto **tholde accustomed Rente**, they were 40 years
 as they weare let att **ffortie yearis** agone : before.
 then shalbe **plentie** and moste men content, 487
 thoughte greate **Possessioners** liste not tassent :
 Yeate, bettere it weare their **Rentis** to bringe vndre, 489
 then **Thowsandis Thowsandis** to perische for **hungre**.

[14]

In whiche youre highnes this ordre maye take, leaf 63, back.
 discret men of youre counsell too assigne Commissioners to
 that wilbee corrupted for no mannys sake : be appointed to
 and theye withe helpe their endeuer tenclnye, value all farms,
 ouer youre Royalme wheare this is owte of lyne. 494
Growndis and **ffermys** to peruse and surueye :
Rentis to reforme that bee owte of the weye. 497

[15]

And as their Wisedoms (withe Conscience) shall see and to fix the
 (the soyle consydered, barrayne or fertile) rents.
 the Owners (by them) ordered too bee
 their **Rentis** tabate, enhaunced so longe while. 501
Pryuate Commoditye to put to exile,
 ratynge the same indifferentlie so :
 the **ffermers** to lyue and by them oother moe. 504

[16]

Not in thraldome and pynchinge penurye, The English
 to bee as drudges vnto their landelordis ; yeomanry to be
 but as yeomen becomethe honestlye, supported,
 and of Goddys lawe conuenyatethe the conchordis. 508
 at too muche bondage **Englische hartis** remordis.

¹ Bargain, exchange.

for what kinge heere will lyue honorablye,
hee muste then make of **Englande Yeomanrye**. 511

[17]

since they are the
chief stay of the
country.

Ffor they (all men knowethe) are the maior parte,
whiche by all lawes ought to bee seene vntoo
speciallye withe moste intentife harte :
sithe they for their princis their daylie labour doo, 515
the myndis of whome they can no better woo,
(to lyue and dye in furderynge their enquestis)
then to see mayntened their olde enterestis. 518

[18]

leaf 64.
Exaction of fines
for leases to be
stopped.

Suche poore lyuynge as their fathers dyd enioye,
meanly to lyue their lyues to contynue.
Alas, a pooreman it greatlie dothe annoye :
when hee for a lyuynge shall eauermore sue, 522
and withe *non* assuraunce hym-selfe can indue,
Custom nor **Copie** can keepe hym In seace :¹
if **fawnyng** **ffyne** attemptethe his lordis grace. 525

[19]

Oppressive land-
lords will all go
to the devil, ✓

Thoughe he bee dyuylliche that byddeth for it so,
more diuylliche is hee that thearto dothe graunte :
And for their dooinges shall too the Dyuyll go .
els false vnto vs is Goddis couenaunte ; 529
for hee them cursethe and byddithe auaunte,
that so procurethe his Neighbours lyvinge.
to see heereunto sittethe thoffice of A kinge. 532

[20]

since for lucre's
sake they force
poor farmers to go
a-begging,

Ffor what is it in **fferme** or **Copie** holde,
or oother semblable habitation,
owte of the same to bee bought and solde
for lucre's sake to the lordis contentation ? 536
the sealye **Pooreman** by suche euasion
withe wief and children so forced to go begge
so they maye profite they passe not an egge. 539

[21]

and take away
from him his
little plot of
ground.

Anoother disordre of oppression,
aduerte this wone whiche is muche odyous.
A lorde geayn to pryuate affection,
lettinge the pooareman an olde rotten howse, 543
which hathe (to the same) profyttes commodious
As **Cloase**, and **Common**, with **Lande** in the feelde :
but noate well heere howe the pooareman is peelde. 546

¹ Scarcely, hardly.

[22]

The howse shall hee haue and A gardeyne plott,
 but stonde hee muste to the reperation :
Close, Comon, or Londe fallithe none to his lott ;
 that beste myght helpe to his sustentation. 550
 the whoale Rente payethe hee for his habitation,
 as thoughe hee dyd thappurtenauncis possesse.
 suche soare oppression neadethe speadye redresse. 553

leaf 64, back.
 Commons are
 enclosed, but the
 rent is the same;

[23]

Thoughe some will obiecte hee is the more Asse
 so to bargayne to bringe hym in thraldome :
 hee can none otherwise bringe it to passe :
 els muste hee paye largelie for his Income. 557
 To settle hym selfe place muste hee haue some ;
 his wief and childrene in like maner wise,
 Whoe for pure penurye, ofte waterethe their iyse. 560

for how can a
 poor man help
 himself?

[24]

Thus thorowe Rentes reysinge and pillinge the poore,
 Pouertie regnethe and is induced muche :
 compelled to begge nowe from doore to doore :
 as (tyll owre tyme) hathe not beene herde of suche. 564
 Your highnes, O prince, this case dothe sore tuche,
 for chieflie youre Crowne to this intent yee weare,
 wronge to reforme that **Equite** may rule beare. 567

This is a matter
 for the king to see
 into.

[25]

No right it is the pooare to bee so vsed,
 and some to the Dyuyll thoroughe Richesse to flytt,
 Christian Charite of them refused :
 which drowned **Dyues** in the deepe hell pytt, 571
 More occasion to treat on this as yeitt,
 is whcare some wone the lyuynges dothe possesse
 of twoe thowsandis well knowne to bee nolesse. 574

One should not be
 allowed to hold
 the "livings" of
 two thousand.

[26]

Firste in goode Rentes a thowsande powndis or more
 in ffermys and Abbeys coequall to the same ;
 Reuenues by sheepe thowsandis by tayle score,
 Oxon, and Neate, greate multytude to name. 578
 Personages of profites wondrefull in fame,
 And yeat is as greadye more to procure :
 as hym to mayntayne this weare but small sure. 581

leaf 65.
 While the rich
 hold farms and
 abbey-lands
 worth thousands
 of pounds,

[27]

And what hee onys into his clampis catche maye,
 the pooreman thearof no peece shall come bye ;

the poor man has
 not even a plot on

which to graze a
horse.

Cowe Leayse, Horse grasse, or one load of Haye,
thoughe hee before had theare for his monye, 585
his chargis (hee saithe) are so passinge hye,
that for hym selfe all is little ynowghe :
yeat on his whoale growndis hee keapeth not one
plowghe. 588

[28]

But yet he dare
not open his lips.

To speake or repyne againste his fell factes,
Alas ! theare dare none their lippes to open ;
the like togethers hathe dryuen suche compactes
that truthe into an whoale is nowe copen, 592
and for his tawlke his hedde all to-broken :
the more is the pite, Conscience knowithe.
goode kinge, thearfore searche wheare suche Darnell¹
growithe. 595

[29]

Lords should try
to gain the love of
the poor,

And set an ordre of reformation
that eache maye lyue to his gree accordinge ;
Dukes and Lordis of highe domynation
ouer the people to haue thorderinge, 599
that the meane sorte abowte them borderinge
maye lyue by them and their neighbours become
by Christian loue, and not holde in thraldome. 602

leaf 65, back.

[30]

and not give
themselves to
trade,

For lordys and men of highe nobilitee,
or oother indude withe possessions greate,
to vse thoffice of thinferior degree,
to choppe and chaunge, aduantagies to geate, 606
as Merket men dothe, it sittethe not their feate :
or ffermys tencroche whiche oother myght releue ; 608
suche doinges, (nodowbte,) dothe many hartes greeue.

[31]

thus causing
poverty in the
country.

I will not saye all that neadethe to be saide,
to longe then sholde I heere tyme occupye :
but by suche meanys **Common Wealthe** is decaide,
and hathe (heere of late) cawsed great owte crye 613
by muche disordre moste sclauderouslye ;
cheif to them selves to woorke so withoute witt,
and next to those that weare cawfers of itt. 616

[32]

If their expenses
are great, let them
reduce them.

If great bee their charges, the wiseman ought
them to rebate accordinge to his stent²

¹ Coarse grass, weeds.

² Standing.

To keepe a porte, in hatrede to bee brought
 thorowe meanys whiche are inconuenient : 620
 holde whoe thearewithe will I will not assent.
 bettre is meane estate hauynge frindys manye
 then highlie to ruffle¹ scace to fynde anye. 623

[33]

Moste merieste it is in eache Cowntrey
 When euery degre obseruethe his dwe,
 dame Justicis lawe trulie to obeye : Justice above all
 theare muste then neadys great quietnes ensue. 627 preserves peace.
 And wheare **Diuision** by grudge dothe renue
 it breadethe nowght els but desolation
 from all quyet Wealthe to dissipation. 630 leaf 66.

[34]

And all this makethe the goodis of the worlde,
 for that will men toyle for that will men scrache ;
 for that olde frendeshippe shalbe all to-chorlde ;²
 the wone brother readye thother to dispatche, 634
 the soone withe the father also to mache,
 by vttere diffiaunce his deathe to exopte, 636
 thoughe thousandis for the like hathe into hell dropte.

[35]

The highest of all that regnethe in estate
 hathe (in this worlde) but meate drinke and vesture :
 then what dothe mennys myndis so intoxicate
 inordynatlye to toyle for treasure ; 641
 purchacinge thearbye so muche displeasure
 bothe of God and their neighbours heere neadinge, 643
 whiche hungrethe ofte soare through their fatt feadinge.

[36]

Off this this tyme I will nomore entreate,
 by wone woorde the wise perceauce can the whoale ;
 I doo this mateir but roughlye heere beate :
 the disposition, partelye and soale, 648
 O noble kynge, belongethe to youre doale,³
 as to perceauce the Comonwealthes noyaunce
 and for the same to deuise ordynaunce. 651

[37]

So that the Pooare bee cauer scene vntoe,
 the Riche hym selfe will sure saue harmelesse.
 A little hynderaunce the poore dothe vndoe
 and can no remedye againste distresse 655

¹ Show off.

² Utterly broken.

³ Share, portion.

but still susteynethe all busynesse,
 Thoughe Drudges muste bee yeat Christian loue wolde
 that iuste rewarde redownde to them sholde. 658

leaf 66, back.

[38]

To thresh all day
 for three-half-
 pence is a poor
 fee.

Too Thresche alldaye for peanye haulfe-peanye,
 and Delue in diches upp to the harde kneeis
 for like valure, howe can hee lyue thearbye?
 God wote it risethe but to a small ffeis, 662
 with that he laiethe vpp hee maye well bye Beeis,
 and after go begge when Age on hym dothe fall : 664
 for noughtes can he saue to helpe hym then with all.

[39]

A labourer should
 be paid fairly for
 his work,

A laborer trulie doinge his duetye,
 (aswell the woman, I meane, as the man)
 let them haue for their traueile worthelye :
 so shall they delyte to doo what they can, 669
 els will they loighter euernowe and than,
 comptinge as goode to bee ydle vnwrought
 as soare to traueile and profite right nowght. 672

[40]

sevenpence or
 eightpence a day,
 according to the
 season.

So ordre that eache doinge their labour
 iustelie and trulie withe moste diligence,
 may bee worthe them and theirs to succour,
 fyndinge them selves on shorteste daies sexpense, 676
 And oother lengre, as the Soone takethe ascense,
 seaunyn or eight pense ; so shall they bee able
 meanlye to lyue, and mayntayne their Cradle. 679

[41]

Sheep-farms
 should be abol-
 ished and built
 on ;

And Townes let downe to grase Sheape vppon
 withe dwellinge howses as fermys and Abbeyes.
 reduced agayne to habitation,
 for lack of which mucche lyuynges nowe decayes 683
 and dothe great hynderaunce as this wone waies.
 Thowsandis thear bee that right gladlie wolde wedde
 if they had holdinges to coauer their hedde. 686

leaf 67.

[42]

then there would
 be room enough
 for all.

Off Journeyemen and Seruyngemen also,
 withe oother dyuerse of oure owne nation
 that nowe a roaynge in oothers growndis go,
 to this Royalmys great depopulation ; 690
 At whiche the heauyns maketh exclamation,
 burdeynynge your grace by othe that yee haue take
 of this, as yee can, redresse withe speede to make. 693

ENGLAND
IN THE
REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

BY
THOMAS STARKEY.

PART II.
THE DIALOGUE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN the Report for last year it was announced that this volume would appear with an Introduction by Professor Brewer. Various circumstances have delayed the completion of the work, and now it appears without the promised Introduction. This will prove an advantage to the Members of the E. E. T. S., as Professor Brewer has found fresh materials in the Record Office for a Life and Letters of Starkey. They will take some time to work into shape, and therefore the present volume is sent out as Part II. The "Life and Letters" will form the Introduction, and will be issued in a separate cover as Part I. next year.

J. M. C.

1 Jan., 1871.

England

in the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

A Dialogue between

Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset, Lecturer
in Rhetoric at Oxford.

By

Thomas Starkey,

Chaplain to the King.

EDITED, WITH PREFACE, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY,

BY

J. M. COWPER.

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P R E F A C E.

§ 1.

THE fierce passions which agitated men's minds during the reign of Henry VIII. scarcely fitted them to chronicle with calmness and without bias the condition of the country. Party spirit ran high in every direction ; on the king's marriages, on his supremacy, on matters of faith, on politics. Under these circumstances it is of the first importance, in considering this period of our history, that authorities should be tested, whether they wrote to serve party ends, or under a sense of cruel personal wrongs, or whether they wrote for the love of truth, and with the hope of ameliorating the condition of the suffering and oppressed.

One trustworthy record we have, one which has ever been appealed to as authentic, as giving us an unbiassed statement of the miseries which were endured by the poor, and of the pomp and wastefulness of the rich. I refer to the *Utopia*. The *Dialogue* now published is hardly of less interest and less importance than More's *Ideal Republic*. Its unimpassioned statements respecting men, its judge-like suggestions for improvement, its keen appreciation of what would profit the country, and make men wiser, happier, and better, give it a value which few works of the time possess.

Many of the controversial writings of this period are disfigured by such unsparing abuse of foes that we can hardly be too chary in receiving their testimony as matters of fact. Whether the country was that happy Arcadia which some would have us believe, or that "hell upon earth" which others describe it, cannot be ascertained

from the fierce invectives of many of the writers whose names are at times advanced in evidence. This question is more likely to be solved by a reference to such works as the *Utopia* and the *Dialogue* between Pole and Lupset, than to the *Complaint* of "Roderick Mors." Not that I wish to undervalue Brinklow's book, which gives another side of the question. As in many other cases, it is probable that truth lies between the two. More and Starkey may have touched many evils with a gentle hand, and many more they may have left untouched; but those they do lay bare, have a semblance of truthfulness which it is not easy to gainsay.

No writer, that I know of, has described our country as the blissful abode of the poor; but it is to be hoped there were some happy spots, where, as a rule, the poor had plenty, and where liberty and religion prevailed. Such spots there may have been. It is certain that there were larger tracts where these blessings were not found—where oppression, hatred, envy, and unredressed wrongs urged men to rebellion—where the small farmer and the agricultural labourer were evicted by wholesale—where the villages and towns were allowed to fall into ruin, the churches only being kept, because they would shelter the sheep which now covered the land. Fathers and mothers were compelled to beg, daughters were driven to Bankside, and sons to the gallows. No poor-houses, the sweating sickness destroying men by thousands; the poor lying and dying, untended and uncared for, by the sides of the ditches, corrupting the air around. No Edile to watch over the cities, and keep the filth from accumulating in the narrow streets, and no Censor to control the morals, which were in keeping with the dwellings of the people.

The times were out of joint. The clergy were accused of being superstitious, idle, and vicious. The lawyers were guilty of bribes, and of perverting justice. And Justice herself, unrelenting in hanging, by twenty at a time, men who must steal or starve, was blind to the miseries, and deaf to the cry of the poor, when the rich man was the oppressor. Such are some of the topics touched upon in this book.¹

¹ See Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, in the Reign of Henry VIII. By J. S. Brewer, M.A., vol. ii. cclxxii.

§ 2.

The decay of villages and towns, the destruction or desecration of churches, and the wide-spread poverty among the poor, are among the more prominent subjects discussed in this work. How far this decay and depopulation extended, and in how far the writers upon these subjects are to be trusted, it is difficult to determine. When we find it stated that the number of parishes in England was estimated at 52,000,¹ we do not wonder that Mr Froude should consider calculations based upon such an assertion as "of the most random kind."² But large as the number is, it is confirmed by another writer. A Tract now preserved in the Lambeth Library, and to which I shall have to refer hereafter, says, "There is in England towns and villages to the number of 50,000 and upward;" and I suspect that by giving a little wider meaning to the sentence, and a meaning which this writer probably had in his mind, we shall find that there were in England, if not 52,000 parish churches, yet that there were 52,000 towns, villages, *and hamlets*, averaging at least ten houses in each. Even now these hamlets are known in many parts by a distinct name, and are separate parishes in all things to those who dwell in or near them, except that they have no church, and are not separately rated to the poor.

That the decay in the country was extensive there can be no doubt whatever. The proofs are numerous in the literature of the time; and the statements of various writers are confirmed by the Statute Book. Many are the Acts of Parliament which were called into existence by it, or in which it is referred to.³ Many of the places enumerated as having fallen into decay had been fortified; but fortified or unfortified, the evil was confined to no particular locality or county, it was general.⁴

¹ There are within your realm of England 52,000 parish churches. And this standing that there be but ten households in every parish, yet are there 520,000 households.—*Supplication of Beggars*. Fox, iv. 659. Townsend's ed.

² Froude, *Hist.* i. 3.

³ See 4 Hen. VII. c. 16; 6 Hen. VIII. c. 5; 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1; 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13; 27 Hen. VIII. c. 1; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 18, 19.

⁴ The names are York, Lincoln, Canterbury, Coventry, Bath, Chichester, Salisbury, Winchester, Bristol, Scarborough, Hereford, Colchester, Rochester,

The cause of this decay is generally attributed to sheep-farming and the enclosure of lands. Wherever the finest wool was grown, there noblemen and Abbots enclosed all the land for pasture. They levelled houses and towns, and left nothing standing except the church, which they converted into a sheep-house. They turned all dwelling-places and all glebelands into a wilderness.¹ The preamble to 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13, confirms the picture drawn by Sir Thomas More. It asserts that divers subjects of the king had daily studied how they might get into as few hands as possible, great multitude of farms, as well as plenty of cattle and sheep, converting such lands as they obtained to pasture, "whereby they had pulled down churches and towns, and enhanced the old rates of the rents of the possessions of this realm, or else brought it to such excessive fines that no poor man is able to meddle with it." It was asserted that since the reign of Henry VII. in some places all the town was decayed; that in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Northamptonshire, were many landowners who cared nothing for tillage, or the breeding and rearing of cattle; that where the land had been tilled it was now encumbered with sheep, and the cottages destroyed.

It was calculated, as we have seen, that there were 50,000 towns and villages in England: it was further calculated that for every town and village on an average there was one plow less since the year 1485. This would make a total loss of 50,000 plows, each of which, it was estimated, was able to maintain six persons, "that is to say, the man, the wife, and four others in the house, less and more." This made it appear that 300,000 persons, "who were wont to have meat, drink, and raiment, uprising and downlying, paying scot and lot to God and the king," had been deprived of their means of support. "And now they have nothing, but go about in England from door to door, and ask their alms for God's sake. And

Portsmouth, Poole, Lynne, Faversham, Worcester, Stafford, Buckingham, Pomfret, Grantham, Exeter, Ipswich, Southampton, Great Yarmouth, Oxford, Great Wycomb, Guildford, Estredforde (?), Kingston-on-Hull, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Beverley, Bedford, Leicester, Berwick, Shafton, Sherborne, Bridport, Dorchester, Weymouth, Plymton, Barnstaple, Tavistock, Dartmouth, Launceston, Liskeard, Lowestwithiel, Bodmin, Truro, Helston, Bridgwater, Taunton, Somerson, Ilchester, Maldon, and Warwick.

¹ Utopia, p. 41.

because they will not beg some of them do steal, and then they be hanged. And thus the realm doth decay."¹

Later on Latimer and Bernard Gilpin brought forward the same charges. They described the covetous engrossers as extortioners and violent oppressors, through whose covetousness villages decayed and fell down,² and thousands of poor were driven to beg. The Ballads³ give a similar cry:—

“Envy waxeth wondrous strong,
The rich doth the poor wrong ;
God of his mercy suffereth long
The devil his works to work.
The towns go down, the land decays ;
Of cornfields, plain lays⁴ ;
Great men maketh now-a-days
A sheepcot of the church.

“The places that we right holy call,
Ordained for Christian burial,
Of them to make an ox’s stall
These men be wondrous wise.
Commons to close and keep ;
Poor folk for bread to cry and weep ;
Towns pulled down to pasture sheep :
This is the new guise⁵.”

Notwithstanding all the efforts which had been made to check this decay, though Right Reverend Fathers had declaimed against it, and Acts of Parliament had declared it an offence, the evil still went on ; and so late as the 39th Eliz. another Act was passed against the decaying of houses and husbandry. To this Act no further reference is necessary. Enough has been adduced to show that the decay and depopulation were realities, and not a party cry, and that they pressed with great severity upon the poor.

¹ See a dateless Tract, entitled *Certayne causes gathered together, wherein is shewed the decaye of England, etc.*, Lambeth Library.

² Latimer’s Sermons, p. 33, ed. 1869 ; B. Gilpin’s Sermon before Ed. VI. p. 33, ed. 1630.

³ *Now-a-days, Ballads from Manuscripts*, vol. i., edited by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., 1868.

⁴ Lays, grass lands.

⁵ Guise, fashion.

§ 3.

Sheep-farms, untilled lands, and enclosures are terms which are met with everywhere in connection with these times. In the preceding section something has been said upon these topics, as they are so closely allied that these are generally adduced as the causes of decay and depopulation. The fineness of the English wool soon attracted buyers, and, as a natural result, its price went up in the markets. Landowners and land-holders were not slow to perceive the advantages to be gained by converting arable lands into pasture. A ready market, and high prices for wool; little or no attention required; one shepherd to be kept in place of the many men required to grow corn—no wonder that it became the rage to enclose lands on all sides—that men who were compared to Nimrods, cormorants, and plagues, found means to enclose thousands of acres within a single fence—that husbandmen, by trickery or by fraud,¹ were thrust out of their own—that they were compelled to part with what little they had of this world's goods—that men and women, husbands and wives, orphans and widows, weeping mothers and young children, “small in substance, but many in number,” were driven from their homes without a resting-place before them. No wonder the “poor seely souls” fell to begging or to stealing; either of which courses was almost certain to end at the gallows.²

By this change in farming, in some parishes where, from time out of mind, two hundred persons had lived in comfort, the number was diminished, husbandry was not followed, churches were destroyed, Christian people buried, but unprayed for; cities and market towns were ruined, and the necessities of life made scarce and dear.³ Eighteen years later, and the shadows of this picture seem deeper.

¹ Lever, quoted by Mr Froude (v. 112), exclaims, ‘Oh, merciful Lord, what a number of poor, feeble, blind, halt, lame, sickly—yea, with idle vagabonds and dissembling caitiffs mixed with them—lie and creep begging in the miry streets of London and Westminster. It is the common custom with covetous landlords to let their housing so decay, that the farmers shall be fain for small regard or coin to give up their leases, that they taking the ground into their own hands may turn all into pasture. So now old fathers, poor widows, and young children lie begging in the streets.’

² Utopia, p. 41; B. Gilpin, p. 33.

³ Preamble, 7 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

Again it is "the lands are put to pasture, and not to tillage, towns and churches are pulled down, old rents are enhanced, or brought to fines so excessive that no poor man can meddle therewith. The prices of corn, cattle, wool, pigs, geese, poultry, eggs, are almost doubled, and a marvellous number are unable to provide meat, drink, and clothes, and are so discouraged that they fall daily to theft, or pitifully die of hunger and cold."¹

But we need not confine ourselves to Acts of Parliament to show the extent of the miseries resulting from sheep-farming and enclosures. The ground was "marvellously fruitful, but in consequence of the abundance of cattle, and the numerous graziers, a third part of it was left uncultivated. Everywhere a man might see parks paleed and enclosed, and full of animals of the chase."² Latimer probably understood the question as well as any man of his day. He had risen from the small homestead, and, when standing before the King and his Court, the condition of the people was rarely absent from his mind. "If," said he, "the King's honour standeth in the great multitude of people, then these graziers, enclosers, and rent-rearers, are hinderers of the King's honour. For where there were a great many of householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog: so they hinder the King's honour."³ The statutes had failed in the object for which they had been enacted. They were good, the meetings and sessions were numerous; but in the end of the matter there came nothing forth.⁴ The Act against pulling down farm houses was evaded by repairing one room for the use of a shepherd; a single furrow was driven across a field to prove that it was still under the plough; the cattle owners, to escape the statutes against sheep, held their flocks in the names of their sons or servants; the high ways and the villages were covered in consequence with outcast families who were wholly reduced to beggary.⁵

In 1549 the rebellion broke out. How it was suppressed we need not say here. In the following year Robert Crowley published his *Way to Wealth*, a few words from which will give the wrongs, real or fancied, which made men rebel. If, he says, I should demand

¹ Preamble, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13. ² Polidore Vergil, B. i. p. 5, Camden Soc.

³ Sermons, p. 40. ⁴ Latimer's Sermons p. 41. ⁵ Froude, Hist. v. p. 111.

of the poor man what he thinks the cause of sedition : I know his answer. The great farmers, the graziers, the rich butchers, the men of law, the merchants, the gentlemen, the knights, the lords, and I cannot tell who. Men that have no name, because they are doers in all things that any gain hangeth upon—men without conscience—men utterly devoid of God's fear—yea, men that live as if there were no God at all ! They would have all in their own hands ; would leave nothing for others ; would be alone on the earth ; men that would eat up men, women, and children are the causes of sedition. They raise our rents, and enclose our commons. We cannot stay in the country, but we must be their slaves ; and to go to the cities we have no hope. We must needs fight it out, and die like men.¹ Some had fought, and had died like men ; and Miles Coverdale, translator of the Bible, and future Bishop of Exeter, had preached a thanksgiving sermon among their bodies as they lay with stiffening limbs, and faces upturned to the stars.²

Wrong triumphed in the land. The religious houses were suppressed ; the fountain of charity was dried up ; the country was in the agonies of a change which must work its weal or its woe ; and the poor wept, begged, stole, rebelled, and died—often “like men.”

§ 4.

“Valiant beggars,” “sturdy vagabonds,” and thieves were another source of trouble to the country, and an evidence of its unprosperous condition. Laws had been made, but had failed in their object,³ but the failure is not to be attributed to the “foolish pity of them that should have seen the laws executed.”⁴ The causes of this excessive number of idle, wandering, houseless poor are to be looked for in the wholesale evictions which followed on the introduction of sheep-farming, and to the numbers who returned from the wars maimed and lame.⁵ The ranks of the idle and unoccupied were also increased from the trains kept by noblemen. When a servant fell ill, he was thrust out of doors, because gentlemen preferred an idle servant to a sick man. When the master died it frequently happened that the

¹ The Way to Wealth, etc. ² Froude, Hist. v. 191. ³ Utopia, p. 51.

⁴ Froude, Hist. v. 68. ⁵ Utopia, p. 38.

heir was unable or unwilling to keep so great a retinue as his predecessor, and then the servants were cast upon the country—some in their prime, some past it. Unable or unwilling to work, they either starved manfully or played the thieves.¹

When Sir Thomas More wrote (1516), the religious foundations were in a position to do much to relieve the necessities of the poor, and, on the whole, they seem to have performed this part of their duty, if not with that nice discrimination upon which the charitable people of our day pride themselves, yet with a liberality that saved many from perishing. Thirty years later, when the *Supplication of the Poor Commons* appeared, this resource of the destitute had been suddenly taken away. The religious houses had been suppressed, their estates had been given away or divided, and the small tenants expelled from their holdings to add still more to the idle and the vicious. It was thought when Henry turned out the monks, that the "poor commons" would be the gainers by the change. "But alas, they failed of their expectation, and are now in more penury than ever they were." Although the monks got the devotions of the charitable, "yet the poor impotent creatures had some relief from their scraps, but now they have nothing. Then had they hospitals and almshouses to be lodged in, but now they lie and starve in the streets. Then was their number great, but now much greater." Instead of sturdy monks, sturdy extortioners had stepped in, who so oppressed the "poor commons" that many thousands who had before lived honestly and well, bringing up their children in profitable employment, were now constrained to beg, borrow, or rob. Their children grew up in idleness; the submissive "to bear wallets," the sturdy "to stuff prisons, and garnish gallows-trees."²

From this it is clear that the evils under which the poor groaned in More's time, were fearfully aggravated when Henry's "hoar hairs were a token that nature made haste to absolve the course of his life."³ The "little finger" of the earlier days had grown into

¹ *Utopia*, p. 38.

² The *Supplication of the Poore Commons*, 1546.

³ *Supplication*, etc. Henry seems to have been no exception to the premature ravages which time made upon men at this period. "In that age life wasted and waned apace. Men were old and worn out at 60. Lewis XII. did not live to complete his 54th year, and was a wreck, not merely by the

the "loins" of the later, and the "whips" had changed into "scorpions." Honest households were made followers of less honest men's tables. Honest matrons were brought to the needy distaff to gain their bread. Men children of good hope in the liberal sciences were driven out as day labourers, to support their parents' decrepit age and abject poverty. Forward and stubborn children shook off the yoke of obedience, and, after a brief life of wickedness, died the death of felons. Modest, chaste, and womanly virgins were compelled to single servitude, or to marry perpetual miserable poverty—while the immodest and the wanton became "Sisters of the Bank,"¹ finally lying and dying in the streets, full of plagues and full of penury.²

That those who had introduced so much misery and crime should be energetic in its punishment is no more than might be expected; and we find that hanging was of the commonest occurrence. Though twenty were hanged at one time upon a single gallows, and though few escaped, yet in every place thieves were plentiful. A few thought the punishment too severe for men to whom no other means of gaining a livelihood were open, and suggested employing them in quarries and mines, for the sake of giving the criminal work, and saving his life; but by the majority death was judged the only cure.³

§ 5.

The morality of the clergy is a question which it is unnecessary to dwell upon here. Often as they are mentioned and often as their

report of his enemies, but by his own admissions to Suffolk and others. Francis I. died at 53; Maximilian at 60; Charles V. at 59. Wolsey, who passed for 'an old man broken with the storms of state,' even before his fall, died at 55. More remarkable still, Henry VII., whose portraits show indications of extreme age in the wasted face and neck, the long bony fingers and feebleness of their grasp, died at the early age of 52, completely worn out in mind and body. The fearful excitement through which they had passed told heavily upon them; like men who had struggled and buffeted for life in a stormy sea, and saved it only to drag out a few weary years on dry land."—*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII.*, v. 2, p. i. *note*.

¹ Bankside, infamous for its stews. See Latimer's Sermons, p. 81, and Ballads from Manuscripts, i. p. 25, *note*.

² Crowley's Information.

³ *Utopia*, pp. 37, 48. For further information see Ballads from MSS., vol. i. *passim*; and for the means employed by the Protector Somerset, and the rings which the slaves of private persons were to wear on their necks, arms, or legs, see the same vol. pp. 121—123. See also Froude, *Hist.* v. pp. 68, 69.

failings are pointed out, there is but one reference¹ to the shocking charges which have been so frequently brought against them. But then the reference is made in such a manner, and received so much as a well-known truth, that this absence of specific charges must not be taken as a proof that the clergy were free from the faults under notice, but rather as confirmatory of the general opinion concerning them. The little attention bestowed upon the subject in the *Dialogue* must be held as a sufficient excuse for its being only hinted at here. Those who are anxious to know more may consult Mr Furnivall's Introduction to *Ballads from Manuscripts*, where they will find a mass of evidence collected in support of the charge.

From Starkey's work we gather that the Bishops kept trains of idle serving-men, thus following the example of the temporal lords; that priests were idle and unprofitable; that they were too many in number,² but too few in goodness; that they were selfish, and cared only for the wool of the flock; that they were ignorant,³ vicious, and superstitious. It is asserted that the admission of priests and friars at an early age was an evil; that celibacy ought to be abolished; that priests and prelates were non-resident—all these charges we can have no difficulty in admitting: they were part and parcel of the system.

Latimer was unsparing in his remarks upon the shortcomings of bishops. He declared that ever since they had been made lords the plough stood still, no work was done. They hawked, they hunted, they carded, they diced; thus following the example of the highest in the realm in practices which descended to the meanest.

¹ p. 200.

² Your realm is overcharged through the great multitude of chantry priests, soul priests, canons residentiaries in Cathedral churches, prebendaries, monk pensioners, morrow-mass priests, unlearned curates, priests of guilds and fraternities, or brotherhoods, riding chaplains, and such other idle persons, [who] are wasters, spoilers, and robbers.—*A Supplication to Our Sovereign Lord, etc.*, 1544.

³ Many . . . having neither learning nor other godly qualities, apt, meet, or convenient to be in spiritual pastors, be now admitted to have cure of souls. And some such that did never know what is a soul, nor yet be able to have care over one soul, be now admitted to have charge over a hundred and many more, to the increase of all ignorance, and all popish blindness.—*A Supplication to Our Sovereign Lord*.

Their neglect of preaching was a natural result of their lordly living, and their employment in duties which were the proper work of laymen. If a person were admitted to view hell, and the devil were to show him the unpreaching prelates who had there found their home, he would see as many as would reach to Calais—he would see nothing but unpreaching prelates.¹ But Latimer could say a good word when he deemed that good word deserved; and one such may fitly come in here, because it bears witness to certain good qualities which Pole undoubtedly possessed. “I never,” he says, “remember that man [Cardinal Pole] methinks, but I remember him with a heavy heart. A witty man, a learned man, a man of a noble house, so in favour that—if he had tarried in the realm, and would have conformed himself to the king’s proceedings, I heard say, and I believe it verily, that he had been Bishop of York at this day. He would have done much good in that part of the realm, for those quarters have always had great need of a learned man and a preaching prelate. A thing to be much lamented, that such a man should take such a way.”²

The custom of pluralities was another source of complaint against the clergy. In 1529 an Act³ was passed to put an end to the abuse and remove the scandal, but the exceptions made the Act nugatory. Spiritual men of the King’s Council might keep three livings; chaplains to the Queen and members of the royal family might keep two each. An Archbishop and a Duke might keep six chaplains; a Marquis and an Earl might keep five, and each of these chaplains was

¹ Sermons, p. 114. Compare

Quevedo, as he tells his sober tale,
Ask’d, when in Hell, to see the royal jail :
Approved their method in all other things,
“But where, good sir, do you confine your kings?”
“There,” said his guide—“the group is full in view.”
“Indeed!” replied the Don—“there are but few.”
His black interpreter the charge disdain’d—
“Few, fellow?—there are all that ever reign’d.”

Comper : Table Talk, ll. 94—101.

² Sermons, p. 133. It is most likely that Pole would have made a “preaching prelate” had his fortune been to be placed among the clergy of his own country. As a matter of fact he was not ordained a priest until his elevation to the Archiepiscopal See.—*Hook’s Lives of the Archbishops*, iii. pp. 11, 310. And, if he preached before, his powers as a preacher seem to have been quite unknown, *Ib.* 527.

³ 21 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

entitled to retain two benefices ; and so on, until we wonder why the Act was passed at all. The clergy were to preach in their parishes at least four times a year, but when the chaplains had availed themselves of their privileges and the graduates of the Universities had claimed the immunities due to them, nonresidence and neglect of preaching were still the rule,¹ and still gave rise to the complaints and sarcasms of the people.

Of the bestowal of church preferment upon the young we need only quote Pole as an example. At seventeen years of age he was nominated to the prebend of Roscombe, and when he was nineteen to that of Gatcombe Secunda, both in the Cathedral of Salisbury ; and at the age of eighteen he received the deanery of Wimborne Minster.²

But this was not all. It was complained that surveyors, alchemists, and goldsmiths received benefices which ought to have been given to godly and learned men. The Church was charged with encouraging superstition, with advocating the invocation of saints, with placing before the works of mercy the giving to churches and images ; with teaching that the clergy could not err ; and the story of their elevating the blood of a duck to be honoured instead of the blood of Christ, "the winking Rood of Boxley," and the "Holy whore of Kent," were cast in their teeth. They were called ravenous wolves ; they were accused of selling their congregations, and of caring for nothing but the yearly rents which were raised from their parishes.³

§ 6.

If men of religion were a scandal to their profession, men of law were not slow to follow the example. If prelates cared not who sank or swam, so long as their incomes were sure ; and if priests only cared enough for the flock to secure the fleece ; judges and others connected with the law paid no regard to justice ; lucre and favour ruled all ; "matters were ended as they were friended : " causes which might have been concluded in three days occupied as many years ; the covetous and greedy minds of the advocates, the 'cormorants' of the law courts, destroyed all law and all good

¹ Supplication of the Poor Commons. ² Letters and Papers, &c., ii. No. 3943.

³ A Supplication of the Poor Commons.

policy. That the Spiritual Courts had failed was not to be wondered at. That the laws were too numerous, too confused, and ill-understood, are subjects upon which nothing need be said. But that the administration of the law was infamous is a statement which requires a little consideration.

The Utopians had but few laws themselves, and reproved other nations for the innumerable books of laws and expositions of laws which they possessed. It was considered contrary to all right and justice that men should be bound to laws so numerous that no man could read them, and so obscure that no man could understand them. From Utopia all attorneys, proctors, and serjeants were banished, as men who craftily handled matters and disputed with subtlety. There every one was allowed to plead his own cause before the judge, and to tell him his story instead of telling it to his man of law. Thus there were fewer words, and the judge could easily weigh the statements of a man who had not been instructed with deceit.¹ There can be little doubt but that Sir Thomas More was here describing the laws and lawyers of his own time. Earlier in his book he introduces a lawyer to ridicule his method of pleading, but if we smile at the humour of the author, we cease to wonder that justice was delayed, and that Wolsey should have to complain in open court of the gross ignorance of the legal profession.²

In consequence of the delays and expense of law, clients abandoned their rights, rather than incur the vexation and the cost. Perjury, it was said, was permitted in chancery for the sake of gain, and men were tossed from court to court. To prevent appeals one writer suggests that none but men of known ability should be elevated to the bench, and that appeals should be abolished. The courts were too numerous, and were "filthily administered." The Court of the Marshalsea and the Court of Augmentation were declared to be standing evidences of the mercy of God, else fire would have descended from heaven and destroyed them.³ The judges were

¹ *Utopia*, p. 128.

² *Lives of the L. Chaneellors*, i. 506 (2nd ed.). Wolsey intended to found an institution to encourage the systematic study of all branches of the law. Had his fall and death been delayed, the "twins of learning" would most likely have been increased.

³ *Mors' Complaint*, chap. xi.

accused of being drunkards, whoremongers, and covetous persons, from whom it was hopeless to look for justice. Their partiality, their "suppressing the poor," their aiding the rich for lucre, their condemnation of the innocent while allowing the guilty to go free, brought down the vengeance of God upon all places.¹

Bribery was an accusation commonly brought against the lawyers. Latimer charges them with following assizes and sessions nominally to serve the King, but really to gain their own selfish ends. Money was heard everywhere among the judges, and many were the devices to make bribery wear an honest face, or to screen it from the observation of men. If a man were rich, he soon saw the end of his matter; if poor, he might go home in tears for any help the judge would give him.² The devil was said to be pretty well occupied on the bench, inducing judges to bribe, to lay heavy burdens on poor men's backs, to make them commit perjury, and to bring into the place of judgment all impiety and all iniquity.³ They meddled with pitch, and were defiled with it. As pitch pollutes the hand that touches it, so bribes bring perversion of justice.⁴ We have seen that if a mortal were admitted to the infernal regions, unpreaching prelates would extend as far as the eye could reach; but if the same mortal were favoured with a sight of the bribing judges, he would see so many that there was scarcely room for any others.⁵ The sturdy bishop must have been consoled with the thought that they became the "Devil's Own" at last.

Severe remedies were proposed for these evils. One suggested that judges and pleaders who received bribes should lose the right hand;⁶ and another that they who delayed a suit should pay the costs of both parties;⁷ but, while a sense of honour was un-

¹ Lamentation of a Christian against the City of London, etc., 1545.

² Sermons, p. 72.

³ Sermons, p. 113.

⁴ Sermons, p. 151. Bernard Gilpin says: And being thus tormented, and put from their right at home, they (the poor) come to London a great number, as to a place where justice should be had, and there they can have none. They are suitors to great men, and cannot come to their speech; their servants must have bribes, and that no small ones. *All love bribes.* The lawyers . . . laugh with the money which maketh others to weep; and thus are the poor robbed on every side without redress, and that of such as seem to have authority thereto.—*Sermon, &c.*, pp. 29, 30.

⁵ Sermons, p. 173.

⁶ Mors' Complaint, chap. ix.

⁷ See p. 191 of this volume.

known, these suggestions for punishment, and these denunciations of the crime, were of little advantage. The proposal to admit only the honest and virtuous to practise in the law courts sounded well, but where were the honest and virtuous to be found? and the suggestion that only gentlemen having "either land, office, or fee to maintain themselves withal," should be admitted, was simply Utopian.

If such men could have been found, the chaos of laws might have been reduced to order; the "subtlety of serjeants" and the liberty of judges might have been controlled; the "statutes of the kings" might have been regulated; barbarous and tyrannical laws might have been repealed; and obsolete or harsh and oppressive institutions might have been swept away. But these honest, virtuous, and self-denying men were not then to be found; and, until they were, until the nobility had received, what they so much needed, a moral and intellectual education, none of these things could be brought about. While men studied rather to bring up good hounds than wise heirs, it was scarcely possible that the profession of the law should be other than it was—infamous.

§ 7.

Living as Pole did in an atmosphere of learning, mixing at Oxford before his departure from England, and during his whole life on the Continent, among the most renowned scholars of the day, we should naturally expect to find him depicted as anxious to impress upon his countrymen the advantages of a good education. In this we are not deceived. He points out that among the principal ill customs tolerated in England, was the education of the nobles, who were commonly brought up in hunting, hawking, dicing, carding, eating, and drinking—in short, in all kinds of vain pleasures. Severe as are his remarks, there was much truth in what he said. The nobles in great numbers grew up without any scholarship worthy of the name.¹ But the times in which they lived must have sharpened their wits in no small degree, else Henry and Elizabeth could not have been surrounded by such men as the reader will call to mind.

¹ Hallam, *Lit. Europe*, i. 261, ed. 1860.

The remedies proposed, viewed in the light of modern times, seem remarkable. As Latin and Greek were deemed the foundation of all good learning, the young were to spend their early years in these studies. But, to permit of this, good schools were required. Further than this, it is recommended that several small schools should be united under one competent master. It was well understood that three or four small schools, with an income not large enough to maintain an efficient master, must all be failures. Join such schools, allow their endowments to go into one common fund, then an "excellent" master could be obtained, and the school would flourish. From such schools the universities were to be replenished. Such scholars as the master and other learned men appointed as examiners should judge fit for the honour, should go to one of the universities, there to be instructed in the liberal sciences, and be made preachers of the doctrine of Christ.

Learning without virtue was held to be pernicious; but though the studies in grammar-schools and universities were confused, and resulted in a paucity of learned men, morality was altogether despised. If the universities were left unreformed, learning would fail. It is a matter for regret that the methods to bring about this reformation were deemed to require one or two more books, which seem never to have been written. The clergy were in the same condition as the nobility. They were not brought up in virtue and learning, nor were their attainments tested before they were admitted to the priesthood, and they could not, except with disadvantage, preach that to the people of which they themselves were ignorant. Commonly they could only patter over matins and mass, mumbling words which they did not understand. Alter these things, educate your nobles and clergy, and a true commonwealth will follow.

If Pole held these opinions at the time when this Dialogue was written, he had not departed from them when he came as a Legate to his native land. In 1556 appeared the "*Reformatio Angliæ ex Decretis Reginaldi Poli*," in which, among other things, bishops are exhorted to live soberly, chastely, and piously. And, lest their moderation should be attributed to avarice, they are advised to use the whole of their surplus income in maintaining Christ's poor, in

the education of boys and young men, and in other pious works. In the Articles which he drew up for the Visitation of his Diocese, but which death did not allow him to hold, the twentieth, "touching lay people," was, "Whether the common schools be well kept, and that the schoolmasters be diligent in teaching, and be also catholic and men of good upright judgment, and be examined and approved by the ordinary." In the "Reformatio," already alluded to, he charged many ecclesiastical persons with involving themselves in low and discreditable employments, with neglecting the study of learning, and with doing nothing consistent with their order; and decreed that they should apply themselves to study and learning, and to do other things suitable to their individual character. Regulations were also made for the greater efficiency of schools attached to cathedrals and religious houses.¹

§ 8.

In how far does this book accurately represent the opinions of: Pole? Starkey was at one time his intimate friend—do the acts of the Cardinal's after life agree with the sentiments expressed here? The answer is that, generally speaking, they do. The repudiation of Catharine of Arragon, and the marriage with Anne Boleyn, soured Pole's whole after life, and made him, who might in his young days have held the highest honours in the State, an outlaw, a rebel, and a plotter against his country. He ought not to be blamed for refusing the Archbishopric of York. The chance of his marriage with Mary may have had something to do with it, but is it not possible that his high soul rebelled against the simoniacal act? It cannot be doubted that the offer was made to buy over Pole's learning and influence to the project of the King. The offer was not accepted, and Pole's continued residence on the continent, where the events of England seem to have reached him often through conspirators, who would colour events which needed no colouring, only tended to widen the breach between him and the King. This will account for one difference between Pole's sentiments as depicted by Starkey and his feelings as described by himself. In the Dialogue Henry is

¹ Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, iii. pp. 306, 307, 429.

spoken of as a prince whose "prudence and wisdom" are "lively law and true policy." In the "De Unitate" the King is compared to the worst tyrants of antiquity, even with Lucifer himself.

Another subject, in which the reality of after life differed from this Dialogue, is sufficiently marked to call for brief notice. No opinion is advanced with more persistency than that respecting the necessity of giving the people the services of the Church in their own native tongue. It was ordained to be said in the church for the edifying of the people, from which it follows that either the service must be said in English or the people must be taught Latin. It was considered not only expedient but necessary, that all divine service should be celebrated in English. More than this: the Gospel also ought to be translated. If these things were done, if all public and private prayers were put into English, instead of being the destruction of religion, as some thought, more fruits of the Christian religion would be seen; and men would do for love what human law could not compel them to do.

Mixing with company which will have to be described hereafter, there can be little doubt that at one period these were Pole's real opinions; but when his life had been embittered by disappointments, and when he had seen the lengths to which men went during the reign of Edward VI., not much surprise need be felt that his feelings on some things became changed. Lupset is made to say, "Translate the Bible, and conduct divine service in English, and we shall see as many errors here as there are in Germany—we shall have diversity of sects in religion in plenty." The diversities had come. And when the Cardinal prepared for his Visitation, the fifteenth article to be inquired of the clergy was, "Whether any of them do say the divine service, or do minister the sacraments in the English tongue, contrary to the usual order of the Church?" This seems to betray an intention of prohibiting such practices where they were found to exist. But in the question of translating the Scriptures no change is evident. In 1555 a legatine council was commenced for the reformation of the Church. What passed in the council we do not know. The result was published in a number of decrees.¹ Among other works

¹ *Reformatio Angliæ*, etc.

proposed, a translation of the New Testament was ordered.¹ In this Pole seems to have remained faithful to his early opinions.

Pole may perhaps be classed among the Reformers of the Church, but he remained to the last a faithful supporter of the papal supremacy—he never seems to have doubted on that head. “*Tu es Petrus*” was ever before him. But in other respects he was a reformer. The doctrine of justification by faith was received by him in its entirety. Of Luther he is made to speak with moderation. Henry abhorred Luther, and it would have been rash in Starkey to have said more than he has said; but from other sources, from Pole’s employment by Paul III. as one of the Cardinals and prelates appointed to confer upon a reformation of the Church, and the *Concilium de emendanda ecclesia*, we learn what his opinions were. After this he was appointed to the Council of Trent, which gave a death-blow to all hopes of reform, and from it Pole withdrew as soon as he could.

His companions, his friends, on the Continent, were always among the most saint-like and the best. No narrow-minded bigot, no immoral man, ever seems to have found favour with Pole. The Court of Leo X. was at once profligate, polite, and learned, but of religion there seems to have been the smallest amount. While the common people were sunk in heathenish superstitions, a tendency opposed to religion was observable in the higher classes, and one could not be considered accomplished who had no trace of heterodoxy in his opinions of Christianity.² From such unpromising elements rose the Oratory of Divine Love, a society which bound its members to morality of life and a better observance of divine worship. “When Rome was sacked, when Florence had become a despotism, when Milan was a battle-field,” Venice became the home of many distinguished men.³ Whether Pole joined the Oratory of Divine Love does not appear,—he certainly became intimate with some of its illustrious members during his visits from Padua to Venice.

Bembo, famous in Italian as well as in Latin literature; Caraffa, hard, passionate, and inexorable, now a reformer, but afterwards, as

¹ Hook, Archbishops, iii. 302, *note*, N.S.

² Ranke’s History of the Popes, p. 22, ed. 1859. ³ Hook, Abps, iii. 53, N.S.

Paul IV., Pole's persecutor and tormentor; Gregorio Cortese, the patristic scholar; Priuli, Pole's attached friend during twenty-six years; Marco of Padua, noted for his profound piety; Contarina, who was ignorant of nothing that man could discover, who wanted nothing that God has revealed to man, and who laboured earnestly to bring peace to the Church; Lampridio, the philologist; Beccatelli, Pole's secretary and biographer; Dudithius, his translator; Peter Martyr, the Protestant leader, and sometime Oxford Professor of Divinity;—these were some of the more important men among whom Pole was received as a friend. All believers in the doctrine of justification by faith, all impressed with the absolute need of a reformation in the Church, they only differed in the matter of the supremacy. But when the Trentine Council had defined certain doctrines, then their relation towards each other was altered.

Of the angelic Vittoria Colonna; of Giovanni Matteo Giberti; of Giovanni Morone, imprisoned and examined before the Inquisition; of Marco Antonio Flaminio, whose works were prohibited in the Index Expurgatorius of Paul IV.; of Pietro Carnasecchi, who died a martyr, nothing need be said here. Pole was the friend of all, and it will cause little surprise that a man who had been on intimate terms with these, should, when the opportunity offered, be accused as a heretic. Such was the fate of Pole. At the end of 1549, when there was a probability of his elevation to the papacy, Cardinal Caraffa based a charge of heresy against him on account of his leniency to the Lutherans. When Julius III. was elected, this charge was withdrawn, but in 1557, when Pole was Archbishop of Canterbury, the charge was revived, and he was summoned before the Inquisition to clear himself or be condemned. Political events occurred to distract the attention of the Pope, and Pole did not appear to answer the charge; but it was not withdrawn: the citation was never revoked, and Pole died a reputed heretic.¹

In the Dialogue the right to depose a tyrant is clearly asserted; in the "De Unitate" the right to rebel is frequently affirmed, and if the King will not listen to the remonstrances of the people, he him-

¹ Hook, and Ranke, *passim*.

self should be deposed. Further, it is maintained that, in conferring the crown, the people reserved to themselves the right to depose the elected monarch, if he violated the constitution or encroached upon the rights of the subject.¹ There are other points of agreement which need only to be mentioned. In the Dialogue Pole is made to advocate the appointment of abbots and priors for three years only. When he became Archbishop of Canterbury, and was restoring the old religion, the Benedictines were again placed in possession of Westminster Abbey, and Feckenham was appointed abbot for three years. Here he would have the incomes of bishops divided into four parts: (1) to rebuild ruined temples and churches; (2) to maintain poor youths in study; (3) to be given to poor maids and others; (4) to maintain the bishop and his household. In the "Decrees," issued by him,² he recommends a similar course to the bishops—expenses of themselves and dependents, expenses to meet the burdens of the Church, the rearing up and nurture of Christ's poor, and the education of youth.

The following words might almost have been copied from the Dialogue:—"He [Pole] is accustomed to say that he must be prudent, and wait for a suitable opportunity. This sounds well; but the favourable time and opportunity will never come, now that so many people seek in such various ways to deny the benefits and glory of Christ. When will he declare himself?"³ Compare these expressions with, "They who without regard of time and place will set themselves to handle matters of State, may be compared," etc. (p. 22). "To attempt the handling of matters of State, without regard of time or place, seems to me great madness and folly" (p. 23). "Whenever the prince shall call me, I shall be ready; but I must tarry my time—I will tarry my time" (p. 214). Lupset is wisely made to say, "Some men so curiously and narrowly ponder time and place, that in all their lives they neither find time nor place" (p. 23). And so it was with Pole.

¹ Hook, *Archbishops*, iii. p. 73, 90, N.S.

² *Reformatio Angliæ ex Decretis*, etc.

³ Vergerio, quoted in Hook, *Abps*, iii. 154, N.S.

On the whole this Dialogue may be taken as fairly representing Pole's opinions. In some important matters he changed, but in the main he seems to have remained faithful to what is here put into his mouth.

§ 9.

I have thus touched upon what seem the chief points of this book. The others must be left to the reader's own curiosity. The dry discussion on perfection, on the opinions of ancient philosophers, the dignity of man, the liberty of the will, the good of individuals, the origin of civil life and forms of government, and other matters of a similar kind, is not very interesting, and the reader may skip the first two chapters of the Dialogue without loss.

The MS. from which this work has been edited was discovered by the Rev. Professor Brewer, in the Record Office. I have not seen it. It was copied for me by Mr W. Morris Wood, and all the difficult passages carefully examined by Mr E. Brock. To these gentlemen and to Mr Furnivall my best thanks are due.

The language is more awkward in appearance than difficult to read. As a rule, the *y*'s in the middle of a word may be taken for *i*'s, and those in the last syllable of words may be ignored.

The old punctuation, and the sentences, so long and so involved, rendered it at times difficult to catch the author's precise meaning. I have repunctuated the book throughout, and, to make it more readable, I have shortened the sentences considerably. I have also adopted a uniform use of capitals. In the MS. no rule whatever is followed.

The abstract which follows gives, in modern English, the most interesting points of the book, and it will, it is hoped, prove of some benefit to the general reader.

J. M. COWPER,
Davington Hill,
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January, 1871.

§ 10.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

LUPSET having known and been familiar with Pole for a long time, has desired to commune with him, and is glad that at last he has found him at leisure at Bisham, where the memory of his ancestors may perchance move him to the purpose which Lupset has in view. Pole owns that he has leisure, and inquires what it is which makes Lupset so earnest.

Lupset answers (p. 2, par. 3) that the matter is great, and concerns the whole order of Pole's life. He has often wondered that Pole, after so many years of study spent abroad, and with such experience of mankind, has not applied himself earnestly to politics, that his friends and countrymen might at last receive the benefit of this learning and experience. All men are born to communicate to others the gifts which they themselves have received ; Plato, Lycurgus, and Solon need not be mentioned as men who influenced cities, countries, and nations for good. A man who is so infatuated with the pleasure of his own studies, that he entirely neglects the service of his country, is greatly to blame, and is censured as one who regards not the duties to which he is bound by nature. Of this disregard of duty many men accuse Pole, telling him that, since he has been so carefully brought up by his country, he ought now to devote himself to advancing the good of the nation. To this he is as much bound as the child is to maintain his father who, by sickness and age, is unable to support himself. Pole, drowned in the pleasure of letters and private studies, gives no ear to his country, which earnestly calls to him for some aid. Lupset urges him to wake out of this dream ; to remember his country ; to look to his friends, and to consider the duties which he is bound to fulfil.

Pole owns Lupset's purpose is good, and that it is no small matter of which he has been speaking. It is, he says, *a good thing and a noble virtue to help one's country* and friends, but Lupset must remember the common saying, "He was never good master

that never was scholar ; nor never good captain that never was soldier ;" and he thinks it better to learn to rule himself before attempting to govern others. He never heard of a mariner able to govern a great ship who could not first manage a little boat ; and so, when he has had sufficient experience in ruling himself, and can, in the opinion of others, do that well, then he may not refuse to consider the needs of his country, and endeavour to rule others. Still he thinks there is much doubt in the view taken by Lupset. He will be glad to do his best, and follow that in which consists the perfection of man ; but whether this perfection lies in active life and the administering of the affairs of the country, or whether it lies in contemplation and knowledge, he is not at all sure. The perfection of man is to be found in his mind—in reason and intelligence ; and the knowledge of God and of Nature should be the end of man's life. Consequently ancient philosophers forsook the meddling with the affairs of the State and devoted themselves to study. It seemed better to them to know the secrets of Nature than to understand the order and rule of cities and towns ; better to know the laws which Nature has planted in the heart of man, than the laws which have been devised by the wit of man. Therefore, granting him to be competent to interfere in politics, he doubts whether it were best to do so or not.

Lupset (p. 5, par. 5) says no man doubts his ability, and Pole's talking of his inability is only an excuse. He is surprised that Pole should refer to ancient philosophers after so many years of study in the school of Aristotle, who clearly teaches that man's perfection stands in active and contemplative life united ; one is the end of the other. This may be seen by common experience ; all endeavours in matters of the commonwealth have for their end the quietness and tranquillity of the people ; and to this end every honest man ought to look when he undertakes affairs of State. First he should make himself perfect, and then communicate this perfection to others. Virtue that is not published for the good of others is of little avail ; it is like treasure confined in coffers. All gifts of God and Nature must be applied to the common profit ; by doing thus man follows the nature of God, who gives to every creature a part of His goodness.

It is not enough for a man to get knowledge and virtue as the

old philosophers did, taking no pleasure in anything else, and despising the politic life of man. A man must study to communicate his virtues to others—this is the end of civil life and the true administration of the commonwealth. This the ancient philosophers avoided, ever delighting in their own private studies. Notwithstanding this, Lupset will not affirm that they did nothing in thus abstaining from public affairs. Perhaps they found themselves unfit, perhaps they were learning first to rule themselves. However this may have been, they were deceived. Learning and a knowledge of man's nature may be very pleasant, but they are not to be preferred to justice and policy. Who would not, if he might know all the secrets of Nature, leave all to help his country by prudence and policy?

That which is best is not of all men at all times to be followed. A sick man had better seek health for himself than study to procure good for his country. Aristotle says it is better for a man in poverty to study to get riches than philosophy; and yet philosophy of itself is to be preferred to riches. And although high philosophy is a greater perfection of the mind, yet the interfering with matters of the commonwealth is more necessary, and ought ever to be chosen first, as the chief means by which we attain to the other. All prudence and policy tend to bring the country to quietness and civility; that each man, and so the whole, may at last attain to that perfection which is due to the dignity of mankind. As the body is most perfect when it can beget its like, so the mind is most perfect when it communicates its virtues to the benefit of others. Then is it most like to the nature of God, whose infinite virtue is most perceived in that He communicates His goodness to all His creatures. And so it is not to be doubted that the ancient philosophers who avoided public life were as greatly to be blamed as those who evaded their duty. Thus, continues Lupset, if you will follow these philosophers, you will not follow that which you most desire; that is to say, the best kind of life, and that which is most suited to the nature of man.

Pole (p. 8, par. 6) says Lupset has well satisfied his doubts, but inasmuch as what he has advanced is founded on what may be considered doubtful grounds, he has brought him into another uncertainty. Man is born, Lupset has said, to civil and politic life, but to

Pole it seems just the contrary ; for if to live under a prince or council in cities and towns is politic order and civil life, it seems plain man was not born thereto, in that he lived many years without any such policy. And further, during this time he lived more virtuously and more according to the dignity of his nature than he now does in politic order and civility. Even in our own days we see men who live out of cities and towns and have fewest laws to govern them, live better lives than those do who reside in goodly cities and are governed by many laws. In great cities are most vice, most subtlety and craft ; and in the country most virtue and simplicity. In cities and towns you may see what adultery, murder, vice, usury, craft, and deceit ; what gluttony and pleasure there are, in consequence of the society of men. In the country these are avoided, because men do not live together after the “civility” advocated by Lupset. Pole concludes that, if this is civil life, it seems to him man was not born thereto, but rather to live in the wild forest, as men are said to have lived in the golden age.

Lupset complains that Pole has misunderstood him : this is not the civil life he meant. What he intended *by civil life* was the living together in good order, one ever ready to do good to another, and all conspiring together, as it were, in virtue and honesty. This is the true civil life. If men so abuse the society of men in cities and towns, we may not cast them down, driving the inhabitants to live in the forest as men did before. The fault is neither in cities nor in laws, but it is in the malice of man, who abuses what was given to him for his good, and turns it to his own destruction, as he does with almost everything that God and Nature have given him. He abuses his health, strength, and beauty ; his wit, learning, and policy ; his meat and drink ; and, in short, almost everything. Yet these things are not to be cast away, nor to be taken from the use of man. The society of man is not to be accused as the cause of these disorders, but rather such great, wise, and politic men as flee from office and authority, by whose wisdom men might be kept in order. These men are to be blamed ; for as men at the first were won from rudeness to civil life by the persuasion of wise men, so by like wisdom they can be kept therein. Therefore, concludes Lupset, you, Master Pole, had

better apply your mind to restore this civil order, and to maintain this virtuous life in cities and towns.

Pole says (p. 10, par. 8) he won't cavil, but Lupset must hear him doubt yet a little further. The assertion that civil life is a conspiracy together in virtue and honesty, not only places the matter in greater doubt, but brings all into uncertainty and confusion. The Turk will say his life is most natural and politic. The Saracen, that his agrees best with man's dignity. The Jew will affirm his law to be above all other laws, as received from God's own mouth ; and the Christian believes his law and religion most agreeable to reason and nature, as being confirmed by the Divinity of God. Thus it seems all stands in the judgment and opinion of man, and no one, by Lupset's definition, can certainly affirm what is politic and civil life.

Lupset says this is a cause of no small doubt among some, because there are men who hold that the only difference between virtue and vice rests in opinion only. He will try to prove that virtue stands by nature, and then will try to show how the contrary opinion came into men's minds. Man, he says, excels all other creatures in dignity, and is set by Providence to rule all things in the earth. The old philosophers called him an earthly god, and lord of all other beasts and creatures, every one of which is subdued to his use. Then consider his works, the cities, castles, and towns which he has built ; the laws, statutes, and ordinances which he has devised ; the arts and crafts which he has invented ; the labour he has bestowed upon the earth to make it yield fruits for his sustenance : all these show man's dignity and prove his nature to be divine. And as he excels in dignity, so his virtues correspond. They are established by nature, and are common to all mankind, as are equity and justice, temperance and courage. Nature also inclines man to live in civil order, and has rooted in him a reverence to God, whereby He is honoured as the Governor and Ruler of the world. These and other virtues are planted in the heart of man by Nature, and are not conceived by any vain opinion. And although some nations do live as though they had forgotten their natural dignity, yet few or none of them there are who do not consider that they have fallen from their original excellency, and ever strive against their manner of living. This rule is

called "the universal and true law of nature," and is common to all nations.

But here Lupset goes on to note (p. 15, par. 9) that Nature, as in so many other things, requires the diligent aid of man in these virtues and this natural law, else will they soon become corrupt. There are so many dangers to them that, except there is some good provision for their culture, they can never bring man to perfection. Wherefore all nations have certain customs and laws for the maintenance and advancement of these virtues. These customs and laws are known as civil law. Civil law is far different from the universal law of nature in that it varies in every country and almost in every city and town. It rests wholly in the consent of man, and changes according to time and place. The law of nature is unchangeable. It is the foundation of civil law, which must ever be referred to it. Civil law is but a means to bring man into obedience to the law of nature, from which all spring, as brooks and rivers from fountains and wells.

To be obedient to the civil law, so long as it is not contrary to the laws of God and Nature, is always a virtue; but to it all men are not bound. With us it is esteemed a virtue to abstain from flesh on a Friday, but the Turks take no notice of such a custom. With us it is a virtue for priests to live chaste; with the Greeks it was not. And so in many other customs it is evident that to be obedient to the laws is a certain virtue, but that kind of virtue which rests entirely in the opinion of man. So it is plain that virtue stands partly in nature and partly in opinion, and not in opinion only. Those who affirm the contrary do not comprehend the order of Nature; they cannot conceive the dignity of man; they do not discern the power of natural law.

Thus, continues Lupset (p. 18, par. 9), you have heard my opinion of the cause of these errors. They who maintain that there is no difference between virtue and vice, except opinion only, measuring man's dignity by his deeds, and seeing he so commonly follows vice, affirm that there is no virtue, but that men agree to call that virtue which is not virtue at all. This is as much as to say that by nature there is no virtue because most men follow vice. They do not con-

sider the frailty of man, his negligence, his ill education; but of the effect they judge all to stand in the opinion of man. And, although different nations differ in policy, each judging its own to be best, yet in those things which naturally pertain to man's dignity they agree. All think God should be honoured; all are bound to aid one another; all find it convenient to live in civil life. However civil laws may differ, so long as men keep this natural law, so long they live well, and will, in the end, be saved. This is the opinion of some wise men, but we may safely leave it to the secret judgment of God. The diversity of sects and laws need not trouble us, it most likely belongs to the nature of man, as much as does diversity of language. Notwithstanding this diversity, civil life may be defined as "a politic order of a multitude, conspiring together in virtue and honesty," to which man is ordained. This is the end of man's life; to this every man ought to refer his thoughts and deeds; every man ought to aid this, and endeavour to set it forth.

Pole answers (p. 21, par. 10) that he never had any doubt of the matter which Lupset has been urging, but it has pleased him to hear the same so confirmed that no man may call it in question. If it is good to help one, it is much better to help many; for a man in so doing approaches nearest to the nature of God. Let it be agreed that every man ought to advance the good of the commonwealth, yet there is another thing to be considered: at some times and in certain places this is not to be attempted by a wise man; as in time of tyranny, or where rulers are only intent on private gain. Among such a wise man's counsel would be laughed at. In such cases it is no wonder that wise men have abstained from interfering. Some by attempting to do good have been exiled, some imprisoned, and some put to death. If Plato had found a noble prince in Sicily he would have shown greater fruits of his wisdom. If Tully had not lived during the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, Rome would have profited more by him. If Seneca had lived under Trajan, instead of under Nero, his virtues would have been otherwise esteemed. So it is evident virtue cannot always show its light. Plutarch compares such as will not regard time and place, to men who being in the dry and seeing others in the rain, must needs go out and get wet them-

selves without doing any good to anybody. Those who run to courts, where every man speaks of the commonwealth in order to obtain something for himself, are soon corrupted with the same opinions. It is hard to be daily among thieves without becoming a thief. Every man, for the most part, becomes like those with whom he associates. Wherefore to attempt to handle matters of State without regard of time and place is madness and folly.

Lupset thinks there is some truth in this, but so much regard to time and place is not needed as some seem to judge. So carefully they consider time and place that in all their lives they find neither the one nor the other. This is frantic folly, and has caused the destruction of many commonwealths. It has caused much tyranny, which might have been avoided if wise men had left such foolish respect for time and place. There can be no doubt that in our time we have a most wise prince, whose one aim is the good of his country, and that now is Pole's time to promote his country's good.

Pole says he is bound now, and promises to allow no occasion for helping the State to pass by. And now, because such a noble prince is on the throne, and the time is ripe, and he has leisure, he will devise something touching the order of the commonwealth, more especially as Parliament is now assembled. He proposes (p. 25, par. 14) to discuss (1) What is the *true commonwealth*, in what it consists, and when it most flourishes. (2) To examine into *the decay of our country*, with its *faults* and *disorders*. (3) To *devise a remedy* for this *decay*.

Lupset agrees, but warns Pole to beware of Plato's example, whose order of commonwealth is but a dream which can never be brought to effect.

CHAPTER II.

POLE commences by urging Lupset to be carefully attentive, and to express his mind freely wherever he thinks the arguments used are weak; he also bids him doubt, because doubting brings the truth to light. He thinks that if men knew for certain what the commonwealth is they would not neglect it as they do; for now every man has it in his mouth, but few have it in their hearts. This evidently

comes of false opinion, because no man willingly hurts himself. This he trusts to make clear.

Lupset questions the truth of what Socrates says about ignorance being the source of all vice, and wishes to examine this assertion. It is commonly said that those who do wrong do so against their own conscience. Every man knows he should be virtuous, yet men are not virtuous; and every man knows he should study the public good, yet every one seeks his own profit. Hence it appears vice should be attributed to malice rather than to ignorance. Besides, we cannot have free-will without a knowledge of good and evil.

Pole says this seems to be a controversy not only between the common people and the learned, but also between Aristotle and Plato; but the controversy is more one of words than anything else. Aristotle says the mind at first is like a clean tablet, ready to receive any impressions. At first it has no knowledge of truth, but afterwards by experience and learning the will is formed. If the will be persuaded that good is ill, and ill good, it will choose the ill and leave the good. But if the opinion is confirmed with right reason it will choose the good; if it be weak it will choose the ill. Socrates was wont to say if the mind were instructed with sure knowledge it would never err. Aristotle says that they who have this opinion of good, in however slight a degree, always feel "a grudge of conscience" when they do wrong. But Plato calls this wavering knowledge ignorance. There is nothing in the controversy between them but words only. If man had a sure knowledge of good he would never leave it. If the reason be commonly blinded with any persuasion, it is hard to resist it; and on this account men take away the liberty of the will, and say it is driven by strong opinion to do this or that; but without doubt, instruction and wise counsel may bring the will out of captivity. But pleasure and profit so blind reason, that it is hard to overcome a wrong persuasion. This is the cause of the destruction of all commonwealths, when every man, blinded by pleasure or profit, leaves the best and takes the worst. Pole concludes that Socrates is right, and that ignorance is the fountain of all ill, vice, and misery, in public as well as in private life.

Lupset thinks that, if this is true, men are not so much to blame.

If they knew better they would do better. But Pole (p. 31, par. 5) denies it. Ignorance does not excuse errors of life, but rather makes a man more worthy of punishment. "He that kills'a man drunk, sober shall be hanged." A man is himself the cause of this ignorance, because if he had listened to the wise and prudent he would not have been so led by it. Lupset here asks to return to their purpose, that they may the easier avoid this ignorance, this fountain of all ill.

Pole agrees, and says that the prosperity of the individual and the prosperity of a country rest in the same thing ; and if we can find out what that thing is, we can ascertain what is that which in every city or country we call the true commonwealth. Lupset sees a doubt here. If the common good rise from the individual good, then every man should strive to advance the individual good ; and so that which just before has been said to be the destruction of the commonwealth must by this reasoning promote its prosperity.

Pole (p. 33, par. 9) denies this, and says the two agree very well—over much regard of private gain ever destroys the common, just as a moderate regard to the one will promote the other. If every man would cure one we should have a true commonwealth. But now, when so many are blinded with the love of themselves, it is necessary for those who have any regard for the public good to correct this inordinate self-love, just as physicians have to attend on those who give themselves to inordinate diet. If men were temperate, physicians would not be needed. Many things are necessary to the well-being of every man, but only three need be mentioned ; in health, strength, and beauty "stands the first point required to the weal of every particular man." The second point of man's well-being is riches, for without riches he will be troubled with infinite cares and miserable thoughts. And to riches must be added children and friends. The third and most important point is "the natural honesty and virtue of the mind." If a man have health and riches, he is counted happy, though he never even dream of virtue. But the virtues of the mind surpass all bodily virtues and all worldly treasure. Of what use are health, strength, and riches to a man who cannot use them ? To such they are destruction. Health is to be

studied for the mind's sake. Riches are to satisfy bodily wants, and to help the needy and the miserable. But virtue alone can show the right use of both health and riches, and it is the chief point of all. Then religion must be added, and the man who is in possession of health, strength, beauty, riches, and religion, is in a prosperous state.

Lupset (p. 39, par. 12) says Pole has spoken well, but he fears that if the prosperity and happiness of man rest in these things, but few are prosperous, few happy. A man may be as perfect as St Paul, yet if he fall into sickness or poverty he is not in a prosperous condition. Besides, it is contrary to the opinion of wise men, who have ever held that virtue keeps a man from misery and places him in felicity. And to this agree the doctrine and practice of Christ, who called them blessed who were in adversity, and chose His disciples from the simple and poor. Pole confesses that these remarks are to the purpose, and promises not to let them pass unexamined. Some say man consists of soul only, and that it is this whereby he is man and not a beast. Others say he is made up of the union of body and soul, and this he thinks is correct. Felicity in the highest degree can only spring from virtue and worldly prosperity; because then man is without any impediment of body or mind; for these should flourish together. It cannot be doubted that a man confirmed by perfect and sure hope may attain to the happiness of the world to come, though troubled with adversity here. But because worldly prosperity is so full of peril it is commonly said it is hard to have heaven here and hereafter. Christ said they who have their hearts fixed on the love of riches, and they who are drowned in pleasures may attain to the life to come; but He does not exclude the upright in mind. Some, perceiving their own weakness, retire from the world altogether, and it is not amiss of them; but they are like mariners who never leave the haven for fear of storms. He who in dangerous prosperity governs his mind well and keeps it upright, is more perfect and deserves more praise than he who runs into a religious house. To return: though a man troubled with adversity may by patience attain heaven, and as riches do not exclude him, the most prosperous state is that where virtue and worldly prosperity are combined. To this Lupset agrees, but asks whether there can be

degrees of felicity? He cannot see how they who have virtue and worldly prosperity can be happier than those who have virtue alone.

Pole's reply (p. 45, par. 15) to this is, if man be the soul only, then virtue alone gives him high felicity; if he be soul and body it does not. But many other things are required by reason whereof felicity admits of degrees. Lupset agreeing, Pole goes on to compare the State to a man. The people are the body; civil order and law the soul. The good of every country arises from three things: (1) From the number of people; if they be too many or too few there is poverty. The population must be suited to the place. They must also be healthy and strong; and a man's body is strong when every part does its duty quickly and well. The king may be compared to the heart; officers appointed by princes to the head, eyes, ears, and other senses; craftsmen and warriors to the hands; plowmen to the feet. And all these must be in due proportion, else will there be deformity. (2) There must be friends, riches, and abundance of necessities. Poverty is the mother of envy, malice, dissension, and many other mischiefs. The country must also have friends among those living near. (3) There must be good laws put into effect by the rulers. Without these all other advantages are of no avail; necessities and people are useless if the latter will not obey order—they will only be abused to the destruction of the commonwealth.

Lupset here (p. 51, par. 20) asks Pole to define what he means by "policy," "civil order," and "politic rule," terms which have been often used. Pole promises to satisfy him on these points. There was a time when man had no cities, no religion, but wandered abroad in fields and woods like the beasts. So he continued till certain men of wit and policy, with eloquence and philosophy, considering his nature and dignity, persuaded him to forsake his rudeness and follow order and civil life, building cities in which he might defend himself from wild beasts. Then ordinances and laws were devised, rude and imperfect like the people themselves, but improving as time went on. There were various kinds of government, some by a king, some by a council, and some by the whole body of the people, as was found suitable. The form of government

is immaterial so long as they who are in authority study to promote the public good. But when they look to their own pleasure and profit this good order is turned into tyranny, there is no politic rule, no civil order. The end of all politic rule is to induce people to live virtuously. Without these—civil order and politic rule—there can be no true commonwealth ; for as in man there only are quietness and felicity where mind and body agree, so in a country there only can be perfect civility where all the parts agree, each doing his duty ; rulers administering justice, people yielding all humble service. Thus when each does his duty, all may attain a high felicity. As the health of a man (p. 57, par. 21) stands not in the health of one member but of all, so a true commonwealth does not stand in the prosperity of one part but in all the parts together. Where the prince is chosen by free election, that is deemed by some to be the best form of government. Increase of population and multitude of cities and towns are sure signs of prosperity ; and where these are seen we may rest assured there is a true commonwealth.

Lupset (p. 59, par. 22) expresses himself satisfied with the explanation given, but regrets it because hitherto he has thought Christendom has had in it a true commonwealth. Now he perceives it lacks many things. He thinks much depends on fortune. Pole says that although the state of Christendom is not perfect, it is the best that has been or ever shall be established ; it is the nearest to perfection and most convenient to man, and tends towards the attainment of everlasting life. He thinks much depends upon fortune, which has great power in all worldly affairs ; for who does not see how riches and health, authority and dignity, are rendered uncertain by fortune ? Yet the happiness of a country does not absolutely depend upon it. It is no imperfection to a man or to a commonwealth that many outward things are often altered by fortune.

Lupset does not like to see such power given to fortune, but Pole says it can no more deprive a man of happiness than clouds can prevent the shining of the sun. A man may suffer from adversity here, yet if he live virtuously and honestly, God will give him felicity hereafter. But still he thinks man cannot have the highest felicity if he

lack worldly prosperity. Lupset is comforted (p. 64, par. 28) by hearing Pole confess that all men may get to heaven at last. Pole says he has no doubt about it, and that he differs in this from the "common sort of men." We must regard the future life as well as the present, and use our prosperity well. Pole concludes by repeating much that he has said before, that public good should be in a man's heart as well as in his mouth; that it should be the end of all his thoughts; that as a mariner who brings his vessel safely into port preserves his own life and the lives of others—so in the State, if a man saves others he saves himself also. Lupset professes himself satisfied, and doubts not that if men would well consider what has been said there would be more regard to the commonwealth here than there is. But he fears it is almost impossible to found such a commonwealth in England as Pole has described. Pole now proposes to spy out common faults, and at last find means to restore our commonwealth.

CHAPTER III.

POLE commences by repeating that, after defining a true commonwealth, it is expedient to examine into the faults and disorders which hinder its prosperity. Lupset thinks little diligence is required in this, as it is easier "to spy two faults than amend one." It is by no means hard to see the faults which prevail in our own country. No man can deny that there is *great decay* when he sees the ruinous condition of cities, castles, and towns, and the poverty of the inhabitants; or when he looks at the ground which used to be well tilled, but now lies waste; or when he considers the manners of the people and their order of living, which are as far from what they ought to be as good from ill, as vice from virtue. All these evils are as clear as the day. Pole does not admit that all is so clear, or that it requires so little diligence; without care wrong conclusions may easily be drawn. He then goes on (p. 71, par. 7) to speak of the *faults* which he perceives in the *body politic*. First he notices the lack of people. This he considers to be evident by observing how much better cities and towns were inhabited in times past than they are now. Many *houses are in ruins*, and many with-

out inhabitants. Further ; many villages have *utterly decayed*, and where Christian people were nourished, now you only find wild beasts ; where many houses and churches once stood, there is *nothing but sheepcots and stables*. This condition of things is not confined to one or two places ; it prevails generally throughout the realm. This decay of cities, towns, and villages plainly shows a *scarceness of men*. Then crafts have declined, and much *land lies waste* and untilled ; which things could not be if there were no lack of people. The ground is not barren, as some men think ; it only requires the labour of man to render it fruitful.

Lupset does not agree. He thinks (p. 74, par. 12) that the ruin of cities and towns, the decay of crafts, and the barrenness of the ground, do not argue a lack of population, but *illness*. No matter how populous a country may be, if the people are idle there must be ruin and decay. He considers that, so far from having too few people, we have too many, and that this is the cause of the scarcity of food, for want of which many die, or live very wretchedly. Pole asks him to compare the country now with what it has been or with other countries which are naturally not more fruitful than ours, and yet sustain more people. Then he must confess to a lack of people. The country, he maintains, has been more populous than it is now. Referring to France, Italy, and Spain, he says they, in a like or less space than ours, sustain more people than England does, which is easily seen by the number of their cities, castles, and towns. He owns that we have *many idle people*, more than any country in the world, but we must not attribute the ruin and decay to them. It is true that if they were well occupied we should be better off than we are ; but, putting idle and diligent together, we have not so many as we ought to have, and as the land, well tilled, would sustain. As to scarcity of food, it does not prove over great numbers, it only proves the negligence of those we have. But there is another disease more grievous than this which has been mentioned. A great part of the people we have (p. 76, par. 15) are *either idle or ill occupied*, and but few exercise themselves in doing that which would maintain the commonwealth. Look at the idle rout kept by noblemen, bishops, and others. Look at the priests, monks, friars, and canons, with all

their idle train, and you will find many who are only burdens on the earth. They are like the drone bees in a hive which only consume the honey gathered by the diligent bee.

Lupset (p. 77, par. 16) thinks the earth is so fruitful that with little labour she will nourish mankind, as she does beasts, birds, and fishes, and that if a few people busy themselves "the rest may live in triumph, at liberty and ease." Pole accuses him of speaking as though he fancied man born to idleness, which is not true. Man was born to labour, and not to live as an unprofitable weight and burden on the earth. It is not necessary that all should be tillers of the ground; some must be priests, some gentlemen to govern the rest, and others to be servants, but all in due proportion. Of these classes there are too many, especially of those who are in the service of gentlemen and lords. You will not find so many in any other country of the world. Lupset takes this for great praise, because if there were no yeomanry we should be in a shrewd case; in them stands the chief defence of England. But Pole maintains that "in them stands the beggary of England." Still, if they were exercised in feats of arms they might be suffered. But they pay so little attention thereto that in time of war it is necessary for plowmen and labourers to take weapons in hand, else we should not long enjoy England; so little confidence is placed in the yeomanry. As of priests, friars, and monks we have too many, so have we of yeomanry, and they make the politic body unwieldy and heavy.

Not much less mischievous than the idle are the *ill occupied* (p. 80, par. 21). By these Pole means such as are busied in making or procuring things which minister only to the pleasures of others; such as ornamenting wearing apparel, procuring new kinds of meats and drinks; singing men, "curious descanters, and devisers of new songs, which tend only to vanity." To these he adds all merchants who export necessities and import only "trifles and conceits." All such are ill occupied and unprofitable. Lupset thinks Pole too severe, and that he would take away all pleasure and all ornaments. Pole answers that he would not take away all pleasure from man, but he would banish all the ill occupied of whom he has spoken, and with them all their vain pleasures and ornaments, bringing in, in their

place, the true pleasure of man, and the true ornaments of the commonwealth.

Another disease (p. 82, par. 25) which gives much trouble to the State is the *jealousy which exists between classes*. Laymen "grudge against" spiritual men, the commons against the nobles, subjects against rulers. This is so evident that no arguments are needed. It is like a pestilence. Again, there is a want of proportion (p. 83, par. 29); one part is too great, another too little; one part has too many, another too few. There are *too many priests*, but *too few good clerks*; monks and friars are too many, good religious men too few. *Too many proctors, too few good judges*. Exporters of necessities too many, importers of what is good too few. Servants, craftsmen, and makers of trifles too many, occupiers and tillers of the ground too few; making in our body politic a monstrous deformity. The country is also *weaker* than it has been in times past, and less able to defend itself from enemies. There *never were so few good captains as now*, never so few exercised in deeds of arms, as may easily be seen by those who will compare the present with the past, when our enemies dreaded and feared us. These are the faults which are common to the whole body.

Pole now (p. 85, par. 33) proposes to speak of particular faults, or faults which pertain to particular classes. Princes, lords, and bishops look chiefly to their own pleasure and profit; *few regard the good of the commons*. Princes and lords seldom look to the good of their subjects; they only care about receiving their rents and maintaining their pompous state. For the rest they care not whether the people "sink or swim." *Bishops only study how they may get the wool*, leaving the simple sheep to wander in the forest and be devoured by wolves. Judges and ministers of justice are ruled by lucre, "*and matters are ended as they are friended*." These faults are seen in spiritual and temporal rulers: none regard their office and duty, and they can only be compared to a man in a frenzy. Plowmen, labourers, craftsmen, and artificers are negligent and slow, by reason whereof come much dearth and penury. The waste ground, the scarcity of food, the dearth of manufactures show great negligence. If plowmen were diligent, there would be less waste ground;

if artificers were industrious, manufactures would not be so scarce and so dear. The truth is, *the English are more given to idle gluttony* than any people in the world. Thus Pole, having declared the general and particular faults of the body politic, proposes to seek out what is required for its prosperity; and this he thinks will not be hard because there is no man so blind as not to see the poverty of this realm. Lupset is surprised at such a statement, as our country has ever been esteemed rich. In our wool, lead, tin, iron, silver, and gold, and in all things necessary to the life of man, our country may be compared with any other. Pole answers him that he speaks like a man of the old world. Undoubtedly our island has been the most wealthy in Christendom, and that not many years ago, but it is much altered. Where riches and liberality were, you will now find *wretchedness and poverty*; where there was abundance, you will now find scarceness. No one can doubt this who sees the multitude of beggars and the fewness of people. In no other country will you find so many beggars as we have in England. All classes, the plowman, the artificer, the merchant, the gentleman, yea, princes, lords, and prelates, cry that they lack money. Look at the *dearth of corn, of cattle, and of food*: it cannot be denied that a common dearth argues a great lack. We must confess to the penury of our commonwealth. Lupset does not think this well proved. Beggars do not prove poverty, but idleness; and as for the complaints of all classes, men so esteem money that had they ever so much they would still complain, and many would even feign poverty. If we examine into the matter he thinks we shall find England richer than any other country about us, for in France, Italy, and Spain it cannot be denied that the commons are poorer than they are with us. Then as to the dearth of necessaries, it is the same in all places. When God sends seasonable weather we have enough; when He chooses to punish us we have lack. Pole grants that other countries may be poorer than ours, but this he maintains does not affect the question. Ours is certainly poorer than it ought to be, and the scarcity does not arise from the common ordinance of God. Lupset agrees in this, and says "some have too much, some too little, and some never a whit."

Pole now (p. 92, par. 43) refers to outward things required for the maintenance of the commonwealth, and sees great faults in the building and clean keeping of cities, castles, and towns. Man has no care for the future, each only regards his own pleasure. This, Lupset says, is quite true. When he travelled in France and Flanders he thought he was in another world, the cities and towns were so well built, and so clean kept, every city seeming to strive which should be best built and kept cleanest. But here in England the people seem to study how the *cities, towns, and castles may soonest fall into ruin and decay*. Every gentleman lives in the country, few inhabit cities and towns. He goes on (p. 93, par. 46) to complain that the merchants export such necessities as cattle, corn, wool, tin, lead, and other metals, and bring in, in their place, only such things as tend to the destruction of our people. Such as “delicate wines, fine cloths, says and silks, beads, combs, girdles and knives, and a thousand such trifling things,” which could either be well spared or our own people might be employed in making them. This he considers a great hurt to the clothmakers of England; the wines, he says, impoverish many gentlemen, and cause much *drunkenness* and idleness among the poor. As men are so prone to pleasure it would not be amiss to restrain the use of this wine. He would have some for the use of the nobles, but even here moderation would be good. And so of silks and says, it is convenient to have some for the use of the nobility. Here he notes another disorder, which is, that now hardly any man will wear home-made cloth, but every man must have his fustians and silks from abroad, which causes many crafts to fall into decay. Then as to *excess of diet*, there never was such feasting and banquetting, and so many kinds of meats as there are now, “and specially in mean men’s houses.” Now a gentleman must fare as well as lords and princes used to fare. And this they take for an honour. It is a dishonour, it is a detriment to the commonwealth, a nourisher of idleness, and a cause of sickness. It is a common proverb that “many idle gluttons make victuals dear.” Complaint has been made of the ill building, yet *men build beyond their degree*—a mean man will have a house fit for a prince. Pole does not object to this, because it is a great ornament, if they

build with timber and stone obtained at home, and do not gild and daub the posts with gold (p. 95, par. 52). Lupset says many build more than they or their heirs can keep in repair, and so places fall into ruin. Pole holds that the greatest fault is "in consuming of gold upon posts and walls."

Another fault which Lupset notices is in the extensive *enclosure of arable land*; where there used to be corn and fruitful fields now is but pasture, by "reason whereof many villages and towns are in a few days ruinate and decayed." Pole says this has been a fault many a day, but not so great a one as it appears. Our food does not consist of corn and fruits of the ground only, but also in cattle, and we cannot breed and rear these without pasture. This enclosing is also *for sheep*, by the profit of which the wealth of the country is much increased. Lupset says we pay too much regard to the nourishing of sheep. Commonly they die of scab and rot in great numbers, and this because they are fed on pastures which are too fat for them. As to other cattle he thinks too little attention is given to breeding them. Generally they are killed early or sold to those who do not intend to rear them. And so, although we have overmuch pasture, we have too few beasts which are profitable to man. And then these pasture farms get into the hands of a few rich men, to the exclusion of the poor from their means of living, and the worse tilling of the ground. Pole says it remains now to note the disorders and ill government which will be found in the country. This will require diligence, and will be found more difficult than the subjects which have been discussed before.

CHAPTER IV.

POLE commences by stating that it is well known this country has been governed for many years by princes who have judged that all things pertaining to the State have depended only upon their will and fancy, and that whatever they purposed was to be allowed without resistance from any private subject. It is commonly thought that a prince possesses arbitrary power. This has ever been a source of great destruction, not only to England, but to all other countries where similar opinions prevail. It is as true as the Gospel that no

country can prosper which is ruled by a prince who succeeds to the throne, not by election, but by birth. Those who succeed in this way are rarely worthy to have such high authority. Lupset begs Pole to be careful, as what he is saying may sound like treason. Would he have a king with no more authority than one of his lords? It is generally held that the king is superior to all laws; that he may loose and bind as he will. Pole answers that this is a disease, which, when examined, will be found to be the root of many others. It is the highest form of government to be governed by a prince and to obey him if he excel all others in wisdom and virtue, but it is most pestilent and pernicious, and full of peril if he is not. As our princes are not chosen from the most worthy he thinks it is not expedient to commit to them such authority as is due to "singular virtue and most perfect wisdom" only. It is better to restrain the authority of the prince and commit it to a common council or parliament, because such prerogative given to one man is the ruin of all laws and policy, just as the dispensations of the Pope have been the destruction of the law of the Church. This is easily seen, because there are few laws and statutes made by parliament which, by proclamation and license of the king, are not abrogated. Till this is redressed it will avail but little to make good laws. It is a great fault for one man to be able to dispense with laws and to excuse the breakers of the laws; and to make leagues and peace with other nations. It is indeed to open the gate to all tyranny; it is the destruction of all civility, and turns order and rule upside down. One cannot compass as much as the wit of many, as it is commonly said, "many eyes see better than one."

Lupset (p. 104, par. 4) marvels much at Pole's statements, because it seems that he would allow the state of a prince without the authority of one. If a prince cannot moderate all things according to his pleasure he must very often call parliament together, and this would give great trouble to the commons. Pole says, in answer to this, if kings were chosen for their virtues and fitness to rule, then they might have this authority; but they come by succession, and are ruled by affection, and draw all things to their lust. Such authority he maintains to be pernicious and hurtful, and a great destruction to

our country, as has been perceived many times by our forefathers, and would be now, only we "have a noble and wise prince who is ever ready to submit to his council, nothing abusing his authority." Lupset confesses to seeing a fault here, but how is it to be redressed? Pole says he will see when time and place require it; and then repeats what has been said about kings by succession being a fault, and that they generally abuse their power. Lupset hardly knows what to say. When he hears Pole's reasons they seem like truth; but when he considers the nature of our people, "succession of blood, and not by election," seems very expedient; as the end of all law is to keep the citizens in unity and peace. If kings were chosen by election he thinks civil war would ensue, because every man would be king, every man would think himself as worthy as another. Our people are of such a nature that they would be sure to abuse such liberty if they had it. Pole asks (p. 107, par. 9) what can be more contrary to reason than for a whole people to be ruled by a man who commonly lacks all reason? Look at the Romans, Lacedemonians, and Greeks, they chose their rulers by free election. This *succession by inheritance* was brought in by tyrants and barbarous princes, and is contrary to nature and reason. This is more evidently seen in private families, where, if the son be prodigal or vicious, the father is not bound to make him his heir. Much more ought this to be admitted in a realm; if the prince be unworthy to succeed his father, another should be chosen by free election. Still, as our people are now affected, and as the state of the country is, "ill it is to take our prince by succession, and much worse by free election." In all which Lupset agrees.

A similar fault, but not so great, Pole says exists in the *succession of private men* (p. 108, par. 11). By law the eldest brother succeeds, to the exclusion of all others from the inheritance. To utterly exclude the younger children from all share in the property seems to be far out of order. Reason and nature require that children of the same father and mother should have a portion of the patrimony. Utterly to exclude them diminishes the love between father and child, and increases envy and hatred between those whom nature has bound together. Lupset cannot understand what Pole means. It seems as though he would subvert the whole policy of the realm. Such things

as make to the honour of our country he esteems faults. Pole asks him, then, to give a little of his mind on this subject, which Lupset proceeds to do by assuming that laws were made for the people, and not the people for the laws ; and therefore that all such laws as keep the people in good order are to be allowed. Those who made this law of inheritance well considered the sturdy nature of Englishmen, who, without heads and rulers, would be without all order. Consequently they ordained that in every great family the eldest should succeed "to maintain a head," who by authority should better restrain the rudeness of the people. It is certain that, if the lands were equally divided amongst brothers, in a few years head families would decay ; and then the people, deprived of heads and rulers, would soon disturb the good order which during many ages has prevailed. If you deprive the nobles of their great possessions, nobles and commons would be so confounded that there would be no difference between them. Lupset cannot grant that this law of inheritance is contrary to nature, because the disposition of worldly goods does not always rest in the free-will of man, but may be regulated by the law so as to maintain good policy. Pole says though these reasons seem to be strong they are not hard to answer ; there is, however, some truth in them. The rudeness of our people makes rulers necessary, and in great families this order of succession might remain. But surely some provision should be made for the younger brothers, so that they need not depend wholly upon the courtesy of their eldest brother, whose love is often so cold that he leaves them in poverty. If the law were confined to princes, dukes, earls, and barons, it would be all very well, but it becomes intolerable when it is applied to "gentlemen of mean sort." We might take example from the Romans, who divided their heritages equally. The mischief sprang from a certain pride by which every Jack would be a gentleman, and every gentleman a knight or a lord. Lupset says Pole has well declared his mind on this subject, and he cannot but acknowledge a "misorder." In France, Flanders, and Italy, they do make a provision for the younger brothers. He has ever thought the entailing of lands to be an error, and thinks it would be well to discuss it now, as it causes many heirs to regard neither learning nor virtue, because

they are sure to be inheritors of a great portion of entailed land. Pole reminds him that the law does not command the entailing of lands, it only permits it. Lupset replies that herein is the error. In great families it might be permitted, but in base families it ought not to be allowed, as it produces much inequality, and much hatred and malice. This Pole admits.

Pole then goes on to speak of another custom (p. 114, par. 19), deserving as much reproof as the last-named. If a man who holds his lands by knight's service dies, leaving his heir under age, his lands fall into the hands of the lord, who has also *the ward and tuition* of the heir. It is unreasonable to commit him to one who is not related to him, and who is not bound to render any account to any man, especially as the guardian may marry the heir to whom he thinks best. Lupset thinks the custom just and reasonable, and refers to its origin. Pole says he cannot be persuaded that the custom is good. He does not deny that they who gave lands to their servants might make conditions of ward and marriage; but we must look higher, and consider the nature of the commonwealth; and Lupset, owning the custom "smelleth a little of tyranny," confesses it is a great error.

The next fault which Pole notices (p. 117, par. 25) is that in case a man have a suit in a shire and wishes to trouble his adversary he can remove his cause by writ to Westminster, by which the unjust cause frequently prevails in consequence of the inability of the other party to follow him thither. Lupset maintains that the fault lies in the party so removing the cause and not in the law, which he defends, because in the shire matters are so bolstered by affection and power, that justice cannot be had there. The law, Pole says, is to blame in allowing the appeal without just cause, and in this Lupset agrees. The next fault is "concerning the *process in suits and causes*." Matters remain unsettled for two, three, or four years, which ought to be finished in fewer days. "Hungry advocates and cormorants of the court" study to delay causes, but the law is to blame by allowing them to stop process for trifles.

Another error is in the *punishment for theft* (p. 119, par. 33), which is too severe: for every little theft a man is hanged. Lupset

says with all its strictness it is not sufficient to deter others from theft. If a punishment even more severe could be devised he thinks it would be well, for theft disturbs all quiet life. Pole thinks the punishment ought to be moderated. The *punishment for treason* is too severe—heirs and all the children lose their lands, and creditors are defeated of their debts. Lupset thinks the traitor ought to suffer in his body, goods, children, and friends, that others may beware. Pole goes on to note the liberty which is given in accusing any one of treason. Light causes of suspicion ought not to be admitted.

Lupset calls attention to the use of the *French tongue in our laws*, and considers it ignominious and dishonourable to our nation. To this Pole adds *church law in Latin*, and then proceeds to the faults in the spirituality. First he refers to the authority of the Pope, who takes upon himself to dispense with the laws of God and man for money. And as for the authority given to St Peter, it was nothing like that which popes usurp; and the power of dispensation was given by man, not to the Pope alone, but to him and his College of Cardinals. The power given by God extends to the absolution of sin only. In abusing his power the Pope destroys the whole order of the Church. From this same ground spring also the Appeals to Rome, which are a dishonour to our country, and require so controlling that every trifling cause should not be referred thither. The *payment of annates* is unreasonable, as they only go to maintain the pride of the Pope, and cause war and discord among Christian princes (p. 126, par. 61). Lupset thinks they were devised to maintain the majesty of the See of Rome and to defend the Church; but Pole answers that the majesty of the Church stands in its purity, and that Christian princes ought to defend it. *Appeal to the Court of Arches and Probate* in the Archbishop's court are also faults, and the cause of many disorders. Other spiritual faults are, the early age at which a man is admitted to the priesthood; the admission of youths to religion; and the *celibacy of the clergy*.

Pole now (p. 128, par. 77) proposes to examine the customs "which seem to repugne to good civility." The principal of these is the *education of the nobility*. They are brought up to hunting, hawking, gambling, eating, and drinking; and nothing else is thought fit for

a gentleman. Then each must keep a court like a prince, and have his idle train to follow him. In this stands the beggary of England. If they are not clothed in silks and velvets, and if they have not twenty different dishes at meals, they think they lack honour. Lupset cannot deny these things, but adds that a knight or a mean gentleman here has as great a number of idle men as a great lord in France; where, instead of wasting their estates in this manner, they marry their children and friends therewith, and keep the younger members from dishonour and shame.

Pole then looks at the customs of the spirituality; the bishops, abbots, and priors, and the "*great sort of idle abbey lubbers*," fit only to eat and to drink; the *election* of bishops, abbots, and priors (p. 131, par. 91); the *defective education* and *vicious lives* of churchmen; *non-residence* of the clergy (p. 133, par. 101); the performance of *service in Latin*, and the singing thereof, which is more to the pleasure of the ear than the comfort of the heart. Lupset thinks Pole inclined to imitate the Lutherans, who have all their service in the vulgar tongue; but he would not follow them. If we have the Gospel put into our own language we shall have as many errors and sects as there are in Germany. Pole says Lupset seems to be afraid of following in Luther's steps, which he will not do, although Luther and his disciples are not so wicked that they err in all things. Pole will not so abhor their heresy that he will fly from the truth. He approves their manner of conducting service because he thinks it right and true. Divine service is to be said for the edifying of the people. If this is true, it must either be said in a language which they understand, or they must be taught the language in which the service is said. But this is not possible. Therefore he thinks it is necessary that not only should divine service be conducted in English, but that the Gospel should be translated also. As for the errors that people run into, it is not because the Gospel is in the vulgar tongue, but it is because they lack good teachers. He maintains that the custom is bad by which we have not the Bible in our language, and the service said in a tongue which the people do not understand. If Augustine, Jerome, and Ambrose could hear our "curious cantering" in churches "they

would drive it into taverns, comedies, and common plays." Lupset acknowledges that it is necessary to have all laws, religious and civil, and divine service also, in our own mother tongue.

The *privileges of the clergy* are next called in question by Pole (p. 138, par. 107), who inquires whether it is convenient that priests guilty of crime should never be cited before a secular judge? Lupset's reply is that he would make an allowance for the dignity of the priesthood, a phrase which Pole declares he cannot understand. If they do amiss, they ought to receive a more severe punishment. They ought to be honoured for their virtues only. If privileges are granted, every "idle lubber" who can either read or sing will make himself a priest, not because he loves religion, but because under the pretence of religion he may indulge in all lusts without fear of punishment. Lupset does not know what answer to make, especially as in the spiritual courts they have no punishments suitable to the crimes which are committed. The privilege now is pernicious, but was convenient in the early Church. Is the exemption of religious houses and colleges from their bishops reasonable? is the next inquiry made by Pole, and Lupset grants it is not. A similar answer is returned to questions on the privileges of sanctuary, by which murderers, thieves, and fraudulent debtors escape the punishment due to their crimes.

Having mentioned all the "misorders" which have come to his remembrance, Pole proposes to adjourn for two or three days.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

POLE opens this second part of the dialogue by referring to the difficulties which lie in their way. To speak of faults and deficiencies in the commonwealth has been an easy task when compared with that of finding remedies. Under these circumstances, he proposes to ask wisdom from God. To this Lupset readily agrees, remarking that if old authors and poets called upon their gods, much more ought members of the Christian flock to call upon God who has promised to hear them. They then retire to hear a Mass in honour of the Holy Ghost. Then Pole (p. 145, par. 7) describes the course to be taken, and after recapitulating part of what has been said, goes on to speak of the great *lack of people*, and to propose the only remedy—"natural procreation," to be brought about by marriage. If man would but follow reason there would be no difficulty; but after a trial of thousands of years, it has been found that "by instruction and gentle exhortation" man cannot be brought to perfection; and that the fear of punishment is the only thing which will bring him to consider his proper dignity. How then can the "gross and rude people" be allured to follow that which shall be deemed necessary? How can they be *induced to marry*? He thinks "by privilege and pain." Lupset here breaks in with an idea, to which he hardly dare give utterance; that is, that "the law of chastity ordained by the church" which binds so many people, is a great hindrance to the increase of the population (p. 148, par. 12). This law might, in his estimation, be relaxed with advantage. Pole thinks the law was useful when first instituted, but now he confesses it is not so, and would at least allow all secular priests to marry. With regard to "monks, canons, friars, and nuns," he thinks there ought to be Abbeys, to which, after lawful proof of chastity, they might retire. This liberty to retire from the world he considers a great comfort to many feeble and weary souls who have been oppressed with the vanities of the world, but he quite agrees that secular priests ought to marry.

Another hindrance to the increase of population lies in *the multitude of serving men*, who spend all their lives in service, and never have the means to marry. An ordinance that no gentleman should be allowed to keep more than he can "set forward to some honest fashion of living and lawful matrimony," would cure this. Many now cannot marry because of poverty (p. 150). To remedy this, houses should be built in the wild and waste places, and given with a portion of land to their servants for a nominal rent. By this means, many would be induced to marry, and the country would gain not only in population, but the waste grounds would be well tilled. Besides this, he would recommend the custom of the Romans for imitation, and grant special privileges and exemptions to all who had five children.

The penalties to be incurred by such as *abstained from marriage* are next considered (p. 151). They should never bear any honours, or any office in the city or town where they live; they should pay an income tax of one shilling in the pound yearly on all amounts coming in "either by fee, wages, or land;" and every man who was worth more than five pounds in movable goods should pay three-pence in the pound. The money thus obtained should be distributed, partly to those who had more children than they could well keep, and partly in endowments for poor damsels and virgins. When a bachelor dies one half of his goods shall go for the above purposes; and the whole of a priest's at his death. This Pole considers to be a "singular remedy for the slenderness for our politic body."

The second disease to be considered is *illness* (p. 152, par. 15). Though the body be weak and slender, yet is it "bollen and swollen out with all humours." The cause of the disease must be removed before we can cure the disease itself; and the cause lies in the ill bringing up of youth. As the young grow up hoping to live pleasantly in service with some nobleman or other, an ordinance should be made, compelling every man to place his children to learning or to some craft at the age of seven years; and the curate of the parish should have chief authority to see the law obeyed. To encourage "arts and crafts," every man who excelled in his calling

should be rewarded by the liberality of the prince. As for such as delighted in idleness and followed no trade at all, they should be banished. It avails but little to increase the population if idleness is not done away. Lupset thinks the remedy a short one, and tells Pole he must show more at large how the youth are to be brought up in arts and crafts. But Pole says that is not his purpose; it would require a whole book. He intends only to touch on general points, and leave the rest to those in authority.

Those who are *busy to no purpose* are next to be considered. Such as merchants and craftsmen, who are occupied about vain pleasures, singers, players upon instruments, and many who are called religious men, but are not. If they were well brought up the root of this disease would be cut away. These "artificers of vanity" must perish if the idle did not maintain them. Our rulers must give heed to this good education of youth, for it is the foundation of all remedies for political diseases, and without it nothing can avail.

But human nature is weak and given to pleasure. It would be well, therefore, to make a law forbidding merchants to bring into the country such things as allure only to pleasure and pastime; among which *wine* is the cause of much harm, and the quantity imported must be limited to what is required "for the pleasure of noblemen and them which be of power." *Exports*, also, must be regulated, and must be limited to such things as we have in abundance; the merchants bringing in, in return, only such things as cannot be made in our own country. Officers similar to the Roman Censors should be appointed to carry out these regulations:—to see that men are well and usefully employed, and to superintend the education of youth. Lupset thinks all this very good, but reminds Pole that he has left unnoticed half the ill-occupied persons—such as live in monasteries and abbeys.

Of *religious persons* Pole says a great many are unprofitable (p. 156, par. 19); but he would not have them and their monasteries taken away: he would have only some good reformation made. He would not allow youths to be in them at all, but only such men as are moved by a fervent love of religion. If this gap were stopped religious men would be fewer in number, but better in life. But as

this is not the place to discuss this matter, he defers it for the present, and proceeds to consider the *discord and division* which are so rife. He considers this the very foundation of ruin, and cites Italy as an example in his own day. He considers that this pestilence in the commonwealth arises from a "lack of common justice and equity. One party has too much, and the other too little, of such things as should be equally distributed among citizens." To keep the body politic united provision must be made that every man may follow his trade, and that one trade shall not interfere with another: "for this causes much malice, envy, and debate, both in city and town, that one man meddles in the mystery and craft of another." One man is not contented with his own profession or manner of living, but directly he sees another better off than himself, he leaves his own business for the other. A penalty must be incurred by such men, and they must be constrained to follow their own trade. If they are seditious and despise this order, they must be banished or punished with death. "This compelling of every man to do his office and duty" would "conserve much this body in unity and concord," and in time remove all divisions.

Pole then goes on to the next disease, which he has called a *deformity* (p. 159). It has been observed that there is a want of proportion in the members,—some being too numerous, some too few. As of plowmen and tillers of the soil, there are too few; of courtiers and idle servants, too many; too few good artisans, too many superstitious priests; and so of many other orders. The cause of this is the natural inclination which man has to pleasure, quietness, and ease, so that men choose the easiest trades, and those in which there is the most hope of gain. "To correct this fault this must be a chief mean—in every craft, art, and science, some to appoint, expert in the same, to admit youth to the exercise thereof; not suffering every man without respect to apply themselves to every craft and faculty." The officers thus appointed should judge for what a youth's wits fit him, and to that place him. Then if a man did not apply himself with diligence to his craft, the officers should appoint him to some other; and so this politic body should grow to a marvellous beauty. Lupset is pleased with this proposal, and sees that, if it were put in

practice, every man would be following the business for which he was suited.

The *weakness* of the body next engages Pole's attention (p. 160, par. 21), by which he judges the country is not well able to defend itself from outward enemies. This he attributes to the neglect of martial exercises by the nobility and their servants. He would prohibit all unprofitable games and idle exercises, and compel them to apply themselves to such feats of arms as are necessary for the defence of the realm, with the same diligence that husbandmen apply to the cultivation of the ground. In every city and town he would have a place set apart for this purpose, as the Romans did, and the Swiss now do. Even in villages, when the people were assembled, he would not have such exercises forgotten. It is certain that this custom has been neglected for many years, and that, in consequence, the people are less valiant, and more given to pleasure than they were. We cannot continue without war, and unless the people are trained to arms we shall be in danger of losing our country. If the remedies mentioned are well applied, the particular diseases of the commonwealth will soon be cured. Lupset thinks Pole ought to have dwelt more on the means of cure; but Pole says his intention was only "to touch certain general things," leaving the rest to the prudence of those who are in authority. If he were to enter into particulars too much time would be required.

If we could find means to cure the head (p. 162, par. 25), all other disorders would soon be healed. Plato in his commonwealth desired above all things to see good rulers, because then laws would not be needed. Lupset thinks Plato only dreamed. A commonwealth such as his will never be seen, unless God should send angels to make a city. Pole reminds Lupset that the rulers he looks for are not such as Plato or the Stoics describe. If men could be found to seek the public good above all things, they would be sufficient; and our country is not so barren of good men but some might be found, especially if attention were paid to the education of the young. The one thing needed is a good prince. Lupset says this rests with God only, which Pole grants, adding, however, that God requires diligence to be used in all things pertaining to man's happiness,—without this

diligence man can have nothing perfect. Of all creatures man is most perfect ; to him was given reason by which to govern himself. But with reason God gave him certain affections and vicious desires, which, without care, overrun reason, and reduce man to the level of the brutes. If he had so much reason that these vicious desires could not prevail, he would have been as an angel, and the world would have been without the nature of man. Some men have more light than others, and this is why one man is wiser than another, and one nation more prudent than another. But none are so rude that they cannot subdue their affections. Every man, when he follows reason, and whole nations, when they live in civil order, are governed by the providence of God. When they are without good order they are ruled by tyranny. God does not provide tyrants to rule. *Man cannot make a wise prince out of a fool*, nor make him just who takes pleasure in tyranny. *But he can elect him that is wise and just*, and can depose a tyrant ; and if we would cure this frenzy we must not have princes by succession. Let us amend this fault, and we need care little for others. To say that God chooses tyrants to punish people is against religion and reason ; we might as well say He compels a man to follow his evil inclinations. If we attribute tyranny, which is the greatest of all evils, to God, we must attribute all ill to the Fountain of all goodness ; which is flat impiety. There is no need to remove tyranny in our days, because we have such an excellent prince ; but after his death parliament should choose the man who is most apt for the office and dignity of king. If we determine that the heir shall succeed, we must join to him a council, not of his choosing, but chosen by a majority in parliament. Lupset objects to this on account of the labour which would devolve upon the parliament.

Pole now unfolds *his plan of this council* (p. 169, par. 35). The Great Parliament should only assemble to elect a prince, or for some other urgent cause. But the *authority* of parliament should ever remain in London to repress sedition and defend liberty. This authority should rest in a council of fourteen, and its duty should be to see that the king and his council do not violate the laws ; to call the Great Parliament when necessary ; and to “ pass all acts of leagues,

confederation, peace, and war." Everything else should be under the rule of the king and his council ; but without his proper council, he should do nothing. The king's council should consist of ten : two bishops, four lords, and four men learned in the law. Then, though we took our prince by succession, this council "should deliver us from all tyranny, setting us in true liberty." All inferior officers would be called to account, and the people would be cured of that negligence which allows the land to lie untilled, and crafts to be "so ill occupied." If the *Statute of Enclosure* were put in force, and pasture land turned into arable, as it was before, there would be abundance and prosperity. All drunkards and gamblers—those who "lay the ground of misery and mischief, as well as the doers thereof," would be punished. Gluttony and idle games, which lead to adultery and robbery, would be removed ; and poverty, which comes of neglect, would give place to plenty.

Pole again reverts to the necessity of *restricting imports and exports* (p. 172). *Wool* must not be carried out of the country, but must be made up into cloth at home. At first our cloths would not be so good as those made abroad, but there are merchants who will undertake to make English cloths equal to foreign in a few years, if the prince will help them. This would be of great benefit to England, because they who now fetch our wool would be glad to fetch our cloth, and our people, now "wretched and poor," would find employment. The same may be said of our lead and tin. Merchants carry out the metal, and bring it in again made into vessels. The merchants must not bring in such things as we can make at home. Wine, velvets, and silks they may bring in, but only in limited quantities. The *Statute of Apparel* must be revived ; *taverns* prohibited ; unreasonable dues on imports of necessities abolished—more than half of these dues go to the king ;—English vessels employed rather than foreign ones ; and farmers must rear more cattle ; for by their neglect there is a dearth of food.

Another evil which Pole points out (p. 175) lies in the *enhancing of rents*. If the farmers pay high rents they must sell dear ; "for he that buys dear may sell dear also justly." To remedy this he would have all rents lowered to what they were "when the people of Eng-

land flourished ;” for now, by ill government and the avarice of rulers, they are brought almost to the misery of France. All kinds of food are dearer than they were, and consequently craftsmen sell their wares dearer. If the things noted concerning merchants, labourers, and farmers were remedied, we should have abundance again ; this miserable poverty would soon be taken away ; lusty beggars and thieves would be but few or none at all ; and as for those who are impotent they could easily be nourished, either after the manner lately devised in Flanders, or by the charity of the people.

Lupset thinks something is required besides abundance ; we must have “all common ornaments” if we will have a perfect State. Pole’s reply is that these ornaments, such as goodly cities, castles, and towns, will soon follow, with magnificent houses, and fair temples, and churches. To provide these he would have men lay by a certain sum yearly, according to their ability. It would be well if officers were “appointed to have regard of the beauty of the town and country, and of the cleanness of the same, which should cause great health,” and prevent the pestilence, which is such a frequent scourge. If cities are to be restored and made as beautiful as they are in other countries, our gentlemen must build houses in them and live there, and see to their management, instead of living “sparkled in the fields and woods, as they did before there was any civil life known.” By such means we should have all ornaments suitable to “our country, which will not suffer to be so ornate and so beautiful . . . as Italy, France, and Germany” (p. 178).

CHAPTER II.

LUPSET commences by asking Pole to proceed with his remedies to keep the body in health. Pole answers that the diseases being cured health must of necessity follow. In health much depends upon temperance, and sober men generally have healthy and wealthy bodies. If we can but correct the faults in our policy, prosperity will be sure to follow. Of this Venice is an example : it has continued in one order over a thousand years ; and the people, in consequence of their temperance, are as healthy and wealthy as any on earth. We must be compelled by the law to follow the temperance

of these men, then there need be no fear for our prosperity ; especially if we remove all faults from our policy. The ruin of countries always follows some tyranny, or some sedition in consequence of some disorder in the government. *Tyranny*, he goes on to say, is the root of all sedition, and the ruin of civil life, and we must above all things see that it has no place with us. A country that is oppressed with tyranny, however splendid and populous its cities may be, is most miserable. As no prince can be found who will regard justice above all other things, we must be careful that by no prerogative he usurp by authority such a tyranny as acts of parliament have given under the pretence of majesty. The laws, not the prince, must govern the State. On this account wise men, considering the nature of princes, affirm that *a mixed State is the best*, because when one has authority and he chances to be corrupt, the rest must suffer. To avoid this the authority of the prince must be moderated, and how to do this must now engage our attention.

Our ancestors, considering this tyranny, and wishing to avoid it, instituted the office of Constable of England to counterpoise the authority of the prince. They gave the Constable authority to call parliaments if he judged the king were inclined to tyranny. But because the princes did not approve of having one in such high authority the office has been suppressed. As this is so, Pole thinks (p. 182) it would be better to give the authority held by the Constable to several rather than to one, the Constable being head of this council, which should represent the whole body of the people. Here follows a repetition of what is said about the Council of the Great Parliament and the King's Council of Ten (p. 169, par. 35).

The *mode of election* again appears (p. 184, par. 5) to demand attention. Lupset thinks the old families should elect the prince, else war and sedition would ensue. But Pole quotes Venice as an example of good order. If our king's power were limited there would be less ambition than there is now. The power the prince possesses often brings on civil war. The *best* way is to *elect* the prince, but as "we are barbarous," "in the second place and not as the best," it is "convenient to take him by succession." In all which Lupset concurs. ✓

Among other faults Pole observes (p. 186) one in *bringing up the nobility*. Generally even when their parents are alive they are brought up without any care, and when they are orphans the case is much worse, for they frequently fall into the hands of such guardians as only endeavour to spoil them of their property, or else to marry them to suit their own designs. These things must be remedied. The old laws must be abrogated; guardians must render a strict account of all properties received, and of the care they have bestowed upon the education and training of the ward. There is not in any country any regard paid to the training of youth in common discipline and public exercise. Every man engages a private tutor to educate his children in letters, but feats of arms and chivalry are utterly neglected. Some ordinance ought to be made for the joining of the two, as we have in our "universities, colleges, and common places to nourish the children of poor men in letters; whereby comes no small profit to the realm." It is most necessary that certain places should be appointed for the bringing up of the children of the nobility together, and to these they should be compelled to send their children. To teach them, wise and virtuous men should be appointed. The pupils should be instructed in learning and feats of arms, fit for such as should hereafter be captains and governors. It would be a noble institution, and much good would spring from it; and without it our realm will never approach perfection. Our fathers were liberal in building abbeys and monasteries, for the exercise of a monastic life, and they have advanced virtuous living. Their example we ought to follow in building places, or else in changing some that we have, such as Westminster and St Alban's, for the training of the nobility. There are over many of these religious houses, and if they were converted to this use, the nobles might there learn the discipline of the commonwealth. Now the nobles think they were born only to spend the lands their ancestors provided, never looking to anything but pleasure. Here Pole would have them learn what they are and what position they are likely to occupy, and carefully prepare themselves for it. At void times they should "exercise themselves in feats of the body and in chivalry," which are useful in times of war and peace. Then they would be

worthy of their name, they would be nobles indeed, and true lords and masters, and the people would gladly obey them. Lupset thinks it would be a noble institution, and hopes he may live to see it put in effect. It would soon bring forth Plato's commonwealth, or rather the institution of Christian doctrine, if there were men to instruct them in the sum of the Gospel. That, Pole says, is to be understood; "that is the head discipline and public" which he spoke of before. If this were done it would profit more than the monks have done in very many years; and youths, "as stars, should light in all parts of the realm," and put in effect that of which the monks have only dreamed.

Lupset refers again to *wards* (p. 189, par. 11), abuses in which matter would be remedied by this institution; and not only for wards, but also for all the nobility, whose education is generally neglected, because more is thought of hawks and hounds than of children—"they study," Pole says, "more to bring up good hounds than wise heirs." He then refers again to *appeals to London*, which must be abolished; the nobility should see that justice is done among their servants and subjects, and only causes which they cannot decide must be removed. In cases of appeal the party condemned must pay the costs. This would end controversies and restore confidence and quietness. Severe penalties must be imposed upon such advocates as induce their clients to bring unjust causes, and upon those who attempt to prolong them. Lupset says there is no denying that the covetous minds of the lawyers is the great cause of long suits, and as a remedy he would admit none to practise except such virtuous and honest men as have enough private means to maintain themselves. But is there not another cause of long suits? To this Pole answers (p. 192, par. 14) yes, "and that is the fountain and cause of the whole matter." Our *law is confused*, it is infinite. ✓ The subtlety of one serjeant destroys the judgment of many wise men. The judgments of years are infinite and of little authority. The judges are not bound to follow them, but they judge as the serjeants instruct them, or according to circumstances. To remedy this we must do as Justinian did with the Roman law. Statutes made by kings are too numerous, as were the constitutions of the

Emperors. He would have the laws reduced to a small number, which should be written in English or Latin. If they were in Latin then students of civil law might study the Roman laws where they would find much more to their advantage than in the Old French. Besides, the laws themselves are barbarous, and many of them must be abrogated. This is the only remedy for faults already mentioned. If the nobility were instructed in the laws as they ought to be, our country would soon be in as prosperous a condition as any other—perhaps in a better condition. If two things were effected—the Civil Law of Rome adopted for our Common Law, and the nobility in youth compelled to study it—there would be no need to seek for particular remedies for the disorders in the realm, for public discipline would easily redress all. Lupset thinks it would be hard to bring such reforms about, and Pole goes on to show that it would be easier than at first sight appears. A good prince would soon accomplish the work, and his authority is all that is required.

The succession and *entailing of lands* next (p. 195, par. 16) engage Pole's attention. Younger brothers must be provided for; the law which puts heirs out of fear of parents must be abolished—the sons should “stand upon their behaviour,” and, unless they behaved well, the father, after proof before a judge, should have power to disinherit them. Lupset remembers that this was the custom among the Romans, and agrees, generally, in what has been said.

CHAPTER III.

LUPSET now inquires what Pole has to say concerning *theft* and *treason*. Pole's answer is, Remove the cause, and you will soon find a remedy. The cause of theft lies in the number of idle persons, and in the defective education of youth: correct these, and the great cause will be removed. Still, if a man through weakness fall to “picking and stealing,” he should be apprehended and put to some public works. This would be more grievous to him than death is reputed to be. As has been said, the punishment for this kind of stealing is too severe. Highway robbery, murder, and manslaughter should be still punished with death. And treason also should continue to be a capital offence, without depriving the children of the

criminal of their father's property. A man who lays a charge of treason against another without just grounds should be punished with death. But if tyranny were taken away there would be no cause for treason—"for tyranny is the mother of treason." This is a gospel word. Lupset agrees that most faults may be referred to that principle, or else to the bad education of the nobles. Pole goes on to say that Plato in his Commonwealth insists upon the instruction of his officers and governors, and considers good rulers to be living laws. A good prince would remedy all faults ; without one all good counsel can be of no effect. Faults among the spirituality now require attention (p. 198). And first, the *Pope usurps authority* to dispense with all laws without consulting his Cardinals, who are appointed to have the authority of a General Council in things pertaining to the good of Christendom, or of any controversy in any nation thereof. But now the Pope, usurping a sort of tyranny under the pretext of religion, defines all, and dispenses with all, as he wills. He should still be taken as the Head of the Church, because that authority is given to him by a General Council. An ordinance is needed to prohibit the removal of any cause, except causes of schism, out of the realm. This liberty of *appeal to Rome* has been a great destruction to England, as Pole could, by many stories, declare. As a recognition of the Pope's superiority Pole would still pay *Peter pence*, but not annates, except in the case of Archbishops, who should, after election at home, receive institution at the hands of the Pope. As for bishops, there would be no need for them to run to Rome ; our own archbishops should institute them at home. By paying these annates we have been maintaining the pomp of the Court of Rome, giving to the Pope that which ought to have been distributed among our own poor in England. Lupset asks what is the difference between *sending first-fruits to Rome* and spending them here "among whores, harlots, and idle lubbers?" There is a difference, Pole says. In the latter case it is spent in our own country. But this leads to another question—the *manner of living among bishops and abbots*. He would have every bishop's income divided into four parts. One part to build ruined churches in their dioceses ; a second to maintain poor youths in study ; the third to be

given to poor maidens and others ; the fourth part to be reserved for the maintenance of himself and his household. Abbots and priors he would have elected every three years according to the custom in Italy. They should give an account of their office, should live among the brethren, and not "triumph in chambers as they do now."

Considering that those who have great possessions will not spend them according to reason (p. 201), he would have some authority to regulate their expenses after the manner of the Romans, who had a law constraining men to frugality. Something after the plan above proposed for bishops would, he thinks, be suitable. As poor men are compelled to pay tithes, so parsons and curates should be compelled to distribute all they have to spare among the poor of their parishes. Besides, they should be compelled to reside upon their benefices, there to teach and preach, and see to the distribution of their goods themselves, except in the case of some few who might be required by the prince or in cathedral churches. These latter should not be resident with such an idle company as they are now, but should be counsellors to the bishop, men of great learning and virtue, helping to set in order the rest of the diocese, and observing that inferior priests did their duty. He would have none admitted priests until they were thirty years of age, because this admission of "frail youth," without proof of virtue and learning, is the ground and mother of all disorder in the Church and religion. "Of this fountain springeth all the slander of the Church by misbehaviour." The advantage of this would not be confined to the Church, because the common people ever look to the life of prelates and priests, taking them for an example.

As Latin and Greek are the foundation of all learning (p. 202), in the study of which those destined for the Church must pass their youth, *good schools must be founded* and presided over by prudent and learned masters. It would be well to unite two or three small schools, with incomes of ten pounds a-year, and make one good school with an excellent master. Above all things, let the school-master remember that he must study to bring up his pupils "no less in virtue than in learning ; for look, how they be customed in

youth, so after they follow the trade either of vice or virtue. Therefore there must be as much regard of the one as of the other. For the learning without virtue is pernicious." A similar order must be observed in the Universities, that the seed planted by the school-master may bring forth good and perfect fruit. *Universities and grammar schools require to be reformed.* The order of studies must be amended, and things which are now neglected must have attention. But how and by what means these reforms are to be brought about Pole cannot now show. Among the wise men who have written on this subject is the Bishop of Carpentras, whose counsel ought to be followed.

Lupset here (p. 204, par. 7) reminds Pole that he has not supplied certain officers who would be of service in our country. Pole would have in every great city one superior officer to see that all others did their duty. Like the Censors of Rome, Lupset replies; and then goes on to say that he would have yet another officer who should have charge of the ornaments and health of the city—an edile, in fact. Pole now proposes to conclude. Correct, he says, the general errors, especially the education of the nobility and clergy, and we shall have a near approach to a true commonwealth. We should have a multitude of people, an abundance of necessities, and love one to another, "every one glad to help another to his power: to the intent that the whole might attain to that perfection which is determined to the dignity of man's nature." Lupset doubts the ability of law to bring man to this perfection,—and Pole confesses it cannot: it is only a means to an end. Christ alone can make man perfect: He alone can supply the law's defects. This is certainly the work of God (p. 207, par. 14), but He has ordained that man shall obtain no good without labour, diligence, and care. Christ used two means to establish His law at the beginning—example of life, and exhortation. And now it must be established chiefly by the preachers and by their godly living. It is needful therefore only to admit such to preach whose life and doctrine is proved to be good. "For now-a-days the *preachers slander the Word of God* rather than teach it, by their contrary life." True, answers Lupset, but how can we make them? Man cannot do it, is Pole's reply; he can only

make an ordinance that such alone as God has made worthy to preach shall receive the authority of a preacher. This man can do as well as ordain how he shall be brought up at the Universities. But this is not the place to enter upon it, especially as Erasmus has written his "Treatise on the Study of Divinity," and his "Book of the Preacher." Things are so far out of order that few men are less fit to preach the Gospel than those who profess to preach it: they are arrogant without meekness; all "affects" rule and reign in them, without any sparkle of reason. There is no need to show up their faults or their instruction, which Erasmus has done with eloquence and wisdom. An ordinance must be made commanding Heads of Colleges to see our youth brought up after the manner set forth by the Bishop of Carpentras and others. Then, in a few years, we should see preachers who would induce the people to follow the Gospel. But still all rests with God, who is "no acceptor of persons." How a man should "institute his mind to receive" sound doctrine Erasmus has shown in his "Instruction of a Christian Man."

Referring to public ordinances (p. 211, par. 16) Pole goes on to repeat what he has said of the necessity there is for *translating the Bible into English*, and having all public and private prayers in our mother tongue. It is thought that the putting of our law into English would be the destruction of religion; as though the law, if it were known, would make man forsake the law. And to have service in a strange tongue is like telling a tale to a deaf man. If preachers were well brought up, the Gospel faithfully translated, and all divine service in English, we should see more fruits of religion than we now do.

Thus briefly have been discussed during these three days (1) *What is a Commonwealth*, and in what it consists. (2) *What our country lacks* thereof. (3) *How and by what means our faults may be corrected*. And Pole, as it is late, wishes to end, unless Lupset has more to say.

Lupset has but one thing to remark upon:—As all men are bound to set forward this commonwealth, he would once more urge Pole not to allow this occasion to slip, lest men call him ungrateful

to his own country. Pole assures him that he lives but to serve his country, but "I must tarry my time." And this he repeats after Lupset has told him to put himself forward, that he must not wait to be called. To Pole's objection that he will not "spot his life with ambition," Lupset says, when men desire to bear office that they may advance this commonwealth, it is not ambition, but virtue. Sluggish minds live in corners and are content with private life, but noble hearts ever desire to govern for the good of the multitude. Pole declines to show his mind on these matters because it is late. He will defer the discussion of them till more convenient leisure. He begs Lupset to rest assured that he shall find no fault or negligence in him, but that he will ever find him ready to do his duty to his prince, his country, and his God.

NOTES.

Bysham, p. 1.—Bisham is a parish about four miles from Maidenhead. The Abbey, now the seat of G. Vansittart, Esq., was founded by the Knights Templars. In 1338 it was changed into an Augustinian Priory by Montacute, Earl of Salisbury. Some short time before the dissolution it was again changed, this time into a Benedictine Abbey. In 1518, the King and the Princess Mary retired to the Abbey on account of the prevalence of smallpox, measles, and the great sickness. The King presented it to Anne of Cleves. The Princess Elizabeth made it her home for about three years. Some of the Earls of Salisbury, Neville the King-maker, the famous Marquis of Montague, and Edward the last Plantagenet, were buried in the Abbey, but their monuments have all disappeared.

Archery, pp. 79, 160, 161.—"The legislature, it has been said, enjoined the assiduous practice of archery. The statute of Winchester, 13 Edw. I. cap. 6, enacts that 'every man between fifteen years of age and sixty years shall be assessed and sworn to armour, according to the quantity of his lands and goods. . . . For forty shillings lands, a sword, a bow and arrows, and a dagger. And all others that may shall have bows and arrows.' By statutes of Richard II. and Henry IV., all able-bodied men were required to employ their leisure at the butts, 'as valiant Englishmen ought to do.' But the Wars of the Roses had found the bowmen more than enough of practice, and the reaction from the fierce struggle between York and Lancaster was shown in the disinclination of the higher classes for the tilt-yard, and of the yeomen for exercise at the butts. Archery, therefore, was falling into disuse, when, in 1511, Parliament re-enacted the statute of Winchester, with the additional provisions that 'every man being the king's subject, not lame, decrepit, or maimed, being within the

age of sixty years, except spiritual men, justices of the one bench and of the other, justices of the assize, and barons of the exchequer, do use and exercise shooting in long-bows, and also do have a bow and arrows ready continually in his house to use himself in shooting. And that every man having a man child or men children in his house shall provide for all such, being of the age of seven years and above, and till they shall come to the age of seventeen years, a bow and two shafts to learn them and bring them up in shooting; and after such young men shall come to the age of seventeen years, every of them shall provide and have a bow and four arrows continually for himself at his proper costs and charges, or else of the gift and provision of his friends, and shall use the same as afore is rehearsed.' In 1541 an amended edition of this statute was passed. Amongst other additional provisions, each village was required to maintain a pair of butts, and no person under the age of twenty-four was to be permitted to shoot with the light-flight arrow at a distance of less than 200 yards; and that the games which had usurped the place of the archery-drill might be effectually abolished, it was enacted that 'no manner of artificer or craftsman of any handicraft or occupation, husbandman, apprentice, labourer, servant at husbandry, journeyman or servant of artificer, mariners, fishermen, watermen, or any serving man, shall from the . . . Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist play at the tables, tennis, dice, cards, bowls, clash, coying, logating, or any other unlawful game out of Christmas, under the pain of xx^s, to be forfeit for every time; and in Christmas to play at any of the said games in their masters' houses or in their masters' presence; and also that no manner of persons shall at any time play at any bowl or bowls in open places out of his garden or orchard, upon the pain for every time so offending to forfeit vi^s viii^d.'—*St Paul's Mag.*, vol. v. pp. 330, 331, Art. *Rural England*, A.D. 1500—1550.

Annates or Firstfruits. pp. 126, 199.—The Acts passed restraining the payment of Annates to Rome, are 23 Hen. VIII. c. 20; 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20.

In the following year (26 Hen. VIII. c. 3) an Act was passed which provided that these Annates or Firstfruits should be paid to the Crown. In the next year (27 Hen. VIII. c. 8) an explanatory Act was passed. In the 1st and 2nd Philip and Mary, c. 8, the whole of these Acts were repealed, but as soon as Elizabeth ascended the throne another Act (1 Eliz. c. 4) was passed again forbidding the payment of Annates to Rome, and commanding them to be paid to the Queen. What Annates or Firstfruits were, and to what extent the payments had reached, with the abuses, will be clearly seen from the preamble of the first Act referred to and from what follows it. "Forasmuch as it is well perceived, by long experience, that great and inestimable sums of money are daily conveyed out of this Realm, to the impoverishment of the same; and specially such sums of money as the Pope's Holiness, his predecessors, and the Court of Rome, by long time have heretofore taken of all and singular those spiritual persons which have been named, elected, or postulated to be Archbishops or Bishops within this Realm of England, under the title of Annates, otherwise called Firstfruits; which Annates or Firstfruits heretofore have been taken of every Archbishopric or Bishopric within this Realm, by restraint of the Pope's Bulls, for confirmations, elections, admissions, postulations, provisions, collations, dispositions, institutions, installations, investitures, orders, holy benedictions, palls, or other things requisite and necessary to the attaining of those their promotions; and have been compelled to pay, before they could attain the same, great sums of money, before they might receive any part of the fruits of the said Archbishopric or Bishopric, whereunto they were named, elected, presented, or postulated; by occasion whereof, not only the treasure of this Realm hath been greatly conveyed out of

the same, but also it hath happened many times, by occasion of death, unto such Archbishops and Bishops, so newly promoted, within two or three years after his or their consecration, that his or their friends, by whom he or they have been holpen to advance and make payment of the said Annates and Firstfruits, have been thereby utterly undone and impoverished; and forbeecause the said Annates have risen, grown, and increased, by an uncharitable custom, grounded upon no good or just title, and the payments thereof obtained by restraint of Bulls, until the said Annates or Firstfruits have been paid, or surety made for the same; which declareth the said payments to be exacted and taken by constraint, against all equity and justice: The Noblemen therefore of this Realm, and the wise, sage, politic Commons of the same, assembled in this present Parliament, considering that the Court of Rome ceaseth not to tax, take, and exact the said great sums of money, under the title of Annates or Firstfruits, as is aforesaid, to the great damage of the said prelates and this Realm; which Annates or Firstfruits were first suffered to be taken within the same Realm, for the only defence of Christian people against the Infidels, and now they be claimed and demanded as mere duty, only for luere, against all right and conscience; insomuch that it is evidently known, that there hath passed out of this Realm unto the Court of Rome, since the second year of Henry VII. unto this present time, under the name of Annates or Firstfruits, paid for the expedition of Bulls of Archbishopsries and Bishopries, the sum of 800,000 ducats, amounting in sterling money, at the least, to 160,000 pounds, besides other great and intolerable sums which have yearly been conveyed to the said Court of Rome, by many other ways and means, to the great impoverishment of this Realm: And albeit, that our said Sovereign Lord the King, and all his natural subjects, as well spiritual as temporal, are as obedient, devout, catholic, and humble children of God and Holy Church, as any people be within any Realm christened; yet the said exactions of Annates or Firstfruits be so intolerable and importable to this Realm, that it is considered and declared, by the whole body of this Realm now represented by all the Estates of the same assembled in this present Parliament, that the King's Highness, before Almighty God, is bound, as by the duty of a good Christian Prince, for the conservation and preservation of the good estate and Commonwealth of this Realm, to do all that in him is to obviate, repress, and redress the said abusions and exactions of Annates or Firstfruits: And because that divers prelates of this Realm are now in extreme age, and in other debilities of their bodies, so that of likelihood, bodily death in short time shall or may succeed unto them; by reason whereof great sums of money shall shortly after their deaths, be conveyed unto the Court of Rome, for the unreasonable and uncharitable causes above-said, to the universal damage, prejudice, and impoverishment of this Realm, if speedy remedy be not in due time provided: It is therefore ordained."

The Aet (26 Hen. VIII. c. 3) transferring these annates to the king seems to have given some cause for dissatisfaction. Thus in "Mors' Complaynt" we read:—"The Pope, *ex plenitudine potestatis*, made a law that every bishop should lack the first year all the fruits of his bishoprie, though the bishop were so worthy his living the first year as the worthiest of all the Apostles. And he ordained that these Firstfruits should neither be given to blind nor lame, but to himself to maintain his pride.* This condition of the Pope is now confirmed in England with an Aet of the Parliament, whereby not only bishops must pay the Firstfruits of their bishopries, but also every parson and vicar of his benefice, and every lord the Firstfruits of his lands. In which Aet the Pope's condition is not put away, but it is two parts greater than ever it

* See p. 200, l. 119.

was. For where the bishops did only pay the Firstfruits then, now the parsons pay, the vicars pay, the lords pay, and in conclusion all men must so often pay, pay, that a man, if he take not good heed, would think that the Latin *papa* were translated into English, here is so much paying on every side.”*

Dean Hook has the following note on “Tenths and Firstfruits :”—“The history of that property is remarkable. It was originally a papal usurpation: it was taken from the Pope and attached to the Crown by Henry VIII. ; it was given to the Church by Queen Mary ; it was again attached to the Crown by Queen Elizabeth ; it was restored to the Church by Queen Anne ; and now, through the medium of Queen Anne’s Bounty Board, it is administered by the bishops and deans of the English Church for the augmentation of poor benefices.”†

The Statute of Enclosure, p. 171.—The Statute against Enclosures was passed in the 7 of Henry VIII. The Preamble and Section I. are quoted by Mr Furnivall in the Introduction to Ballads, etc., p. 6. Other statutes on the subject may be seen in the same Work, also the Petition of 1514 and the King’s Proclamation in pursuance of it (pp. 101, 102). The following may also be quoted from the Appendix to Letters and Papers, Henry VIII. vol. ii., p. 1546 :—“Decree in Chancery by my Lord Cardinal, 12 July, 10 Henry VIII., that all who have pleaded the King’s pardon, or submitted to his mercy for enclosures, shall within forty days ‘pull down and lay abroad’ all enclosures and ditches since the 1 Henry VII., under a penalty of £100, unless they can bring evidence that such enclosure is more beneficial to the commonwealth than the pulling down thereof, or is not against the statutes about the decay of houses.”

The statutes prohibiting enclosures had remained, especially in the northern counties, unenforced ; and the small farmers and petty copyholders, hitherto thriving and independent, found themselves at once turned out of their farms, and deprived of the resource of the commons. They had suffered frightfully, and they saw no reason for their sufferings. From the Trent northward, a deep and angry spirit of discontent had arisen, which could be stirred easily into mutiny. Froude, iii. 93 (1536).

Gluttony and Drunkenness, pp. 87, 94, 95, 171, 172.—“We send to other nations to have their commodities, and all is too little to feed our filthy flesh. But the singular commodities within our own realm we abhor and throw forth as most vile, noisome matter. Avidiously we drink the wines of other lands ; we buy up their fruits and spices, yea, we consume in apparel their silks and their velvets. But, alas ! our own noble monuments [of learning] and precious antiquities, which are the great beauty of our land, we as little regard as the parings of our nails.”—*Bale’s Leylande’s Laborious Journey*, ed. 1549, ff. 39.

“What comessaacyon, drunkenness, detestable swearing by all the parts of Christ’s body (and yet calling them in scorn ‘hunting oaths’), extortion, pride, covetousness, and such other detestable vice reign in this your realm.”—*Supplication to Our Sov. Lord*.

In 1518 (Oct. 5), the bridal ceremonies connected with the betrothal of Mary to the Dauphin commenced at Greenwich. The bill of fare for October 7 included the following :—

Bread, 3000 loaves (13 qrs. 7 bushels of wheat).	Ale, 6 tuns, 7 hlds.
Wine, 3 tuns, 2 pipes.	Beeves, 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ carcasses.
	Muttons, 56 carcasses.

* The Complaynt of Roderyck Mors, chap. xvi., 1536. See also Froude, i. pp. 353—357 ; vi. 397-8.

† Lives of the Archbishops, iii. 399, note, N.S.

Veals, 17.	Pigeons, 384.
Porks, 3.	Quails, 150.
Fat hogs, 4.	Larks, 648.
Cray fish, 600.	Geese, 60.
Fat capons, 24.	Pears, 3000.
Kentish capons, 67.	Apples, 1300.
Coarse capons, 84.	Butter, 367 dishes.
Chickens, 324.	Eggs, 2500.
Pullets, 30.	Cream, 16½ gallons.
Swans, 15.	Milk, 16 gallons.
Cranes, 6.	Fruментy, 6 gallons.
Rabbits, 372.	Curd, 7 gallons.
Rabbits, young, 24.	Flour, 2 qrs. 4 bushels.
Partridges, 42.	Mustard, 6 gallons.
Plovers, 132.	Vinegar, 6 ,,
Teals, 78.	Verjuice, 4 ,,

Although we have omitted many things, the above will give some idea of the enormous quantity of food which was got rid of in some way. Doubtless much was given away in alms, and much wasted, but allowing for these there remains enough to lead us to believe that the charge of gluttony and drunkenness was made on good grounds.—*Letters and Papers*, Henry VIII. vol. ii., 1515. See also Preface, clxiii.

In November following an Embassy of four persons was sent to France. Unfortunately a storm compelled them to leave a part of their train behind them. On the 1st of December, the mayor and merchants of Abbeville presented them with *three puncheons of wine*. On the 3rd, they were at Amiens, where, being Friday, the burgesses offered them great carps, great pikes, tronts, barbels, crevisses, great eels, and *four puncheons of wine*.—*Ib.* Pref. clxvi.

Then as now the ale-house competed with the church:—

“And lightly in the country
 They be placéd so
 That they stand in men's way
 When they should to church go.
 And then such as love not
 To hear their faults told,
 By the minister that readeth
 The New Testament and Old,
 Do turn into the ale-house,
 And let the church go.”—*Crowley's Epigrams*, l. 6 (1550)

“Few of our drunkards
 Do use to rise early;
 But much of the night
 They will drink lustily.

But, alas! many curates,
 That should us this tell,
 Do all their parishioners
 In drinking excel.”—*Ib.* lf. 17.

Gambling, pp. 77, 171, 172.—The 33 Henry VIII. c. 9, was passed “for the maintenance of Artillery, and debarring unlawful games.” It enacted that no manner of persons of what degree, quality, or condition soever, should for

"gain, lucre, or living" keep any place for bowling, coiting, closh-cayles, half-bowl, tennis, dicing table or carding, or any other manner of game prohibited by any former statute, or any unlawful new game now invented or made.

In an account of a banquet given by Wolsey, we are told of the guests that "after gratifying their palates, they gratified their eyes and hands; large bowls, filled with ducats and dice, were placed on the tables for such as liked to gamble."—*Letters and Papers*, Henry VIII., ii. c. lxi.

Latimer says, there is such dicing-houses also, they say, as hath not been wont to be, where young gentlemen dice away their thrift; and where dicing is, there are other follies also.—*Sermons*, p. 161.

The nineteenth article to be inquired of the clergy of Canterbury by Pole was "Whether any of them do use unlawful games, as dice, cards, and otherwise, whereby they grow to slander and evil report?"

Gambling seems to have been common among all classes.

Wool, Tin, Lead, p. 173.—Crowley, in his epigrams, sums up the advantages of these three products thus :

" This realm hath three commodities,
Wool, tin, and lead,
Which being wrought within the realm,
Each man might get his bread."

Dress, pp. 89, 90, 174.—"Is there not such excess and costliness of apparel because of diversity and change of fashions, that scarce a worshipful man's lands, which in times past was wont to find and maintain twenty or thirty tall yeomen, a good plentiful household for the relief and comfort of many poor and needy; and the same now is not sufficient and able to maintain the heir of the same lands, his wife, her gentlewoman or maid, two yeomen, and one lackey? The principal cause hereof is their costly apparel, and specially their manifold and diverse changes of fashions, which the man, and specially the women, must wear upon both head and body. Sometime cap, sometime hood; now the French fashion, now the Spanish fashion; then the Italian fashion, and then the Milan fashion; so that there is no end of consuming of substance, and that vainly and all to please the proud foolish man and women's fancy. Hereof springeth great misery and need."—*Supplication to Our Sovereign Lord, etc.*, 1544. The mischiefs arising from this excess according to this writer we need not quote.

Acts of Parliament vainly endeavoured to regulate dress. See 37 Edw. III. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, where the apparel of all classes from the plowman to the esquire is regulated. The Acts 3 Edw. IV. c. 5, and 22 Edw. IV. c. 1, were repealed by 1 Henry VIII. c. 14, and another Act substituted. This is probably the statute referred to on p. 174, l. 1089. The Act 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 2, for the reformation of excess in apparel, may also be referred to.

Laws in English, p. 193.—As far back as 1362 the attention of the Legislature was called to this subject. "Because the Laws, Customs, and Statutes of the said Realm be not commonly known in the same Realm, for that they be pleaded, shewed, and judged in the French tongue, which is much unknown in the said Realm, so that the people which implead, or be impleaded, in the King's Courts, and in the Courts of others, have no knowledge nor understanding of that which is said for them or against them by their sergeants and other pleaders; and that reasonably the said Laws and Customs would be the more learned and known, and better understood, in the tongue used in the said Realm, and by so much every man of the said Realm might the better govern himself without offending the law all pleas which shall be pleaded in the Realm, shall be

pleaded, defended, answered, debated, and judged in the English tongue, and . . . entered and inrolled in Latin."—36 Edw. III. c. 15.

Peter-Pence, p. 116.—King Offa (died 793) is said to have established the tribute called Peter's pence. He is said to have founded a Saxon hostelry in Rome for the use of students, and this tax of a penny on each house was for its support. Edward I. was the first who objected to pay tribute to Rome. The statute passed in his reign (35 Ed. I.) was confirmed by the 4th and 5th Ed. III. The Statutes of Provisors enacted in this latter reign may also be consulted. Edward refused to pay the tribute, and his nobles supported him (Ranke, *Popes*, p. 13, ed. 1859). The payment of Peter's pence was forbidden by the 25 Hen. VIII. c. 21. This Act was repealed by 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8, and revived by 1 Eliz. c. 1. The tribute sometimes went under the name of Romescot, sometimes Rome fee (Rome-feoh).—*Minshew*.

Bishop of Carpentras, pp. 203, 210.—Jacopo Sadoletto, Jacques Sadolet, Jacobus Sadoletus, James Sadolet, a man well spoken of for piety, benevolence, and learning, was born at Modena in 1477. He was educated at Ferrara and Rome, where he gained admission into the family of Cardinal O. Caraffa. His scholarship attracted the attention of Leo X., by whom he was made a papal secretary, and rewarded with the bishopric of Carpentras.

By Adrian VI. and Clement VII. he was employed but a short time, and was then allowed to retire to Carpentras. Here his house became the resort of the learned, and he gained for himself the title of father of his people. By Paul III. he was created a cardinal, and accompanied that pontiff to Nice when he negotiated between the Emperor and the King of France. But with Paul his straightforwardness was not more acceptable than it had been with Adrian and Clement, and he once more turned his steps to Carpentras.

The purity of Sadoletto's Latinity was praised by Erasmus as being superior to his own. His works were numerous, and are said to have shown considerable reading. His Commentary on the Epistles of St Paul was, at the instance of his enemies, condemned at Rome. This caused him some annoyance, and led him to appeal to the Pope, by whom the book was declared to be catholic.

He lived on friendly terms with Melanethon and Calvin. When Zuingle died, and Erasmus and Luther spoke severely of him, Sadoletto dwelt chiefly upon those points in his character which he could praise.*

Pole seems to have spent two or three years at the Monastery of Carpentras, and having commenced or renewed his acquaintance with this excellent and amiable man at Avignon, to have continued a warm friend until Sadoletto's death in 1547.

The book referred to in the text in such laudatory terms is entitled *De Liberis recte instituentis*. It was published in 1533, and became very popular.

Ediles—Public Health, p. 205.—The need of some authority to regulate cities and towns was forced upon men's minds by the prevalence of the Sweating Sickness. Erasmus wrote to Wolsey's Physician, suggesting among other remedies, the appointment of ediles, in the following words:—"I am frequently astonished and grieved to think how it is that England has been now for so many years troubled by a continual pestilence, especially by a deadly sweat, which appears in a great measure to be peculiar to your country. I have read how a city was once delivered from a plague by a change in the houses, made at the suggestion of a philosopher.† I am inclined to think that this also must be the deliverance of England.

Hook's *Archbishop*, iii. 49, N.S.

† The "philosopher" which changed the houses and delivered London was the Great Fire of 1666.

"First of all, Englishmen never consider the aspect of their doors and windows; next, their chambers are built in such a way as to admit of no ventilation. Then a great part of the walls of the house is occupied with glass casements, which admit light, but exclude the air, and yet they let in the draft through holes and corners, which is often pestilential and stagnates there. The floors are in general laid with a white clay, and are covered with rushes, occasionally removed, but so imperfectly that the bottom layer is left undisturbed, sometimes for twenty years, harbouring expectorations, vomitings, the leakage of dogs and men, ale-droppings, scraps of fish, and other abominations not fit to be mentioned. Whenever the weather changes a vapour is exhaled, which I consider very detrimental to health. . . . I am confident the island would be much more salubrious if the use of rushes were abandoned, and if the rooms were built in such a way as to be exposed to the sky on two or three sides, and all the windows so built as to be opened or closed at once; and so completely closed as not to admit the foul air through chinks; and for as it is beneficial to health to admit the air, so is it equally beneficial to exclude it. The common people laugh at you if you complain of a cloudy or foggy day. Thirty years ago if ever I entered a room which had not been occupied for some months I was sure to take a fever. More moderation in diet, and especially in the use of salt meats, might be of service; more particularly were public Ediles appointed to see the streets cleaned from mud and urine, and the suburbs kept in better order."—*Letters and Papers*, Hen. VIII. vol. 2, ccix. note.

Erasmus, pp. 210, 211.—The Treatise on the Study of Divinity is *Paraclesis, id est adhortatio ad Christianæ philosophiæ Studium*, 1st ed. 1518.

The Book of the Preacher is, *Ecclesiastes, sive de ratione Concionandi*, 1st ed. 1535.

The Instruction of a Christian Man is probably the *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, 1st ed. 1503. Erasmus also wrote *Institutio principis Christiani*, and *Symbolum sive Catechismus*.

Ypres, p. 176.—A hundred years ago there were in Ypres three hospitals for the sick; one house for poor old men, another for poor old women; one hospital for educating poor boys, another for poor girls. In these both boys and girls were taught how to get their living, and supplied with a sum of money on leaving, to enable them to start in the world.

In addition there was a bequinage where unmarried women lived, receiving a small allowance which, added to what they earned or had, was enough to keep them. They dressed alike as a sisterhood, and were free to marry, but seldom did so.* I have not ascertained when these various institutions were established, nor who were their founders.

I am indebted to Mr W. M. Wood for the following account of the practice in Venice about this time:

"Of common provision and charitable doctes.—Theyr diligent vse in prouision for graine is notable. For be it deare or good cheape, theyr common graner (whiche is a myghtie greate house) is in maner alwayes furnished. So that lyghtly in the citee can be no great dearth, because many times of their owne common purse, they are contented to lose for the poore peoples reliefe (thoug another time they pay them selves the double).—They haue also certayne schooles or felowships, gathered together for deuocion, as one of saincte Marke, an other of sainet Rooke, one of this sainet, an other of that, which (beyng for the most part substancially men) doe releuee a nnumber of the poore after this sorte.—They geue them ones a yere a course linary, with

* See Martinière's *Grand Dictionnaire, Geographique, Historique, &c.*, Paris, 1768.

a certaine smal stipende, for the which the poore man is bound to carie a taper at one of the bretherne or sisters burial; and, besides that, to attend certeine holidiaies at the schoole, where the principal bretherne assemble, to dispose vnto the mariage of poore younge women, and in other good woorkes, that parte of money that theyr rate for the time dooeth allow; and afterwards (wyth theyr priestes and clerkes) goe a procession a certayne circuite, in the which the pore men lyke wyse cary their tapers before theim.—Furthermore, there are certaine hospitalles, some for the sicke and diseased, and some for poore orphanes, in which they are nourished vp til they come vnto yeres of seruice; and than is the man childe put vnto a craft, and the maidens kepte till they be maried. If she be fayre, she is sone had, and little money geuen with hir; if she be foule, they anaunce hir with a better porcion of money.—For the plague, there is an house of many lodgeinges, two miles from Venice, called the *Lazaretta*, vnto the whiche all they of that house, wherein one hath been infected of the plague, are incontinently sent, and a lodgeyng sufficiente appoincted for them till the infection ceasse, that they may retourne.—Finally, for prisoners, they haue this order: Twise a yeere, at Christmas and Easter, the *Auditori* dooe visite all the prisoners in Venice, and there geue audience vnto all creaditours that haue anye debtour in prison for the summe of .50. duckates and vnder. If the partye be liable to paie, daies are geuen, and sureties founde; and if the debt be desperate, than doe they theim selves agree with the partie for more or lesse, as the likelihode is, and pay hym of the common purse. So that ere euer they departe, they empty the prisoners of all theim that lie for that summe.”—*The Historie of Italye, &c.*, by William Thomas, edit. 1561, the chapter on leaves 82 and 83, under the general heading “The Venetian Astate.”

[The Dialogue.]

[P A R T I.]

[CHAPTER I.]

1.¹ **Lupset.**—Much [tyme] past, *Master Pole*,² [I] L. has long
haue desyryd [greatly to commyn] wyth yow, [beyng] desired to talk
mouyd therto by the [great] frenchype *and* famlyaryte with Pole,
wych, of youth growyng betwyx vs, ys now so by 4
vertue incresyd *and* confyrmyd, that nature hathe not
so sure a band *and* knot to coupul and joyne any hartys
togyddur in true lou[e] *and* amyte. Wherfor I am and is glad to
ryght glad, Mastur Pole, that I haue, now at thys find him at
tyme, here found you, both, as me semyth, at con- leisure.
uenyent lesur to commyn *and* talke, *and* also in thys 10
place of Bysham, where as the image *and* memory of
your old aunceturys of grete nobylyte, schal, as I trust,
styr *and* moue your hart *and* mynd to the same purpos
that I wold now *and* long haue desyryd to commyn 14
vnto you.

2. **Pole.**—Troth hyt ys that leyser here, as you say,
lakkyth non at al; but, I pray you, what ys that, gud P. asks,
Mastur Lupset, that you seme so ernystely to wyl? "What is the
Hytt apperyth to be, by your begynnyng, some grete 19
mater *and* weyghty.

¹ The numbers are not in the MS., but are inserted for convenience of reference.

² In the MS. proper names and the words which commence a fresh sentence frequently begin with a small letter. For the sake of uniformity, capital letters have been substituted in all such cases.

L. replies,
"The matter
concerns the
whole of your
life.

After so much
study you must

apply yourself
to the
commonwealth,

as Plato, Lyeur-
gus, and Solon
did,

[* Page 28.]

or you wrong
your country,
and neglect
your duty.

3. **Lupset.**—Troth hyt ys a grete mater in dede, *and*, as to me hyt semyth, touchyng the hole ordur of your lyfe, *Master Pole* ; and schortly to schow you, 24 wythout long cyrcumstaunce, thys hyt ys. I haue much *and* many tymys maruelyd, resonyng wyth my selfe, why you, *Master Pole*, aftur so many yerys spent in quyet studys of letturys *and* lernyng, *and* aftur such experyence of the manerys of man, taken in dyuerse 29 partyes beyond the see, haue not before thys settlyllyd your selfe *and* applyd your mynd to the handelyng of the materys of the commyn wele here in our owne natyon ; to the intent that bothe your frendys *and* cun- 34 trey myght now at the last receyue *and* take some frute of your long studys, wherin you haue spent your hole youth, as I euer toke hyt, to the same purpos *and* end. You know ryght wel, *Master Pole*, that to thys al men are borne *and* of nature brought forth, to commyn such gyftys as be to them gyuen, yeh one to the profyt of other, in perfayt cyuylte ; and not to lyue to theyr 40 owne plesure *and* profyt, wyth[out] regard of the wele of theyr cuntrey, forgettyng al justyce *and* equitye. I nede not to reherse to [you] (to whome the storys are bettur knowne then to me,) the exampul of Plato, Lyeurgus, nor of Solon, by whose wysdome *and* pollycey 45 dyuerse cytes, cuntreys *and* natyonys were broug[h]t to cyuyle ordur *and* polytyke lyfe ; wych, yf they had not regardyd, but folowyd theyr owne *pryuate plesure *and* fantasy, had yet remeynyd in theyr old rudenes, *and* lyuyd lyke wylde bestys in the woodys, wythout lawys 50 *and* rulyes of honesty. Wherfor me semyth, who so euer he be wych, drawen by the swetenes of hys studys, *and* by hys owne quyetnes *and* plesure mouyd, leuyth the cure of the commyn wele *and* pollycey, he dowth manyfest wrong to hys cuntrey *and* frendys, *and* ys playn vniust *and* ful of iniquyte ; as he that regardyth 56 not hys offyce *and* duty, to the wych, aboue all, he ys

most bounden by nature. Of thys, Mastur Pole, many 57
 men dow you accuse, saying that, syns you haue byn of Men blame you
 even now
 for this neglect;
 your cuntrey so wel nuryschyd *and* brought vp, so wel
 set forward to geddur prudence *and* wyse[dom], you
 ought now to study to maynteyn *and* avaunce the wele
 of thys same your cuntrey,¹ to the wych you are bounden
 no les then the chylde to the father, when he ys by 63
 syknes or age *impotent and* not of powar to helpe hym
 selfe. You see your cuntrey, as me semyth, requyre you see your
 country require
 your help, but
 give no heed
 thereto."
 your helpe, and, as hyt were, cry *and* cal vnto you
 besyly for the same, *and* you, as drownyd in the plesure
 of letturys *and* pryuate studys, gyue no yere therto; 68
 but, forgettyng hyr vturly, suffur her styl to want your
 helpe *and* succur apon your behalfe, not wythout gret
 iniury. Wherfor, Master Pole, now at the last wake
 out of thys dreame; remembyr your cuntrey, loke to
 your frendys, consydur your offyce *and* duty that you 73
 are most bounden vnto. And so now thys you haue
 breuely hard the cause of my cummyng *and* purpos at
 thys tyme.

4. *Pole*.—Maystur Lupset, your purpos is gud, *and*
 touchyth, as you sayd, no smal mater. In dede, hyt P. owns it is
 a noble virtue to
 serve one's
 country,
 can not be denyd but hyt ys a gudly thyng to med-
 dyl wyth the materys of the commyn wel, *and* a nobul
 vertue to dow gud to our frendys *and* cuntrey, to the 81
 wych, as you say, we are borne *and* brought forth.
 Wherfor not wythout a cause you exhorte me therto, [Page 29.]
 as to the end of al mannys studys *and* actys, *and* [the]
 best thyng in thys lyfe to be atteynynd vnto. Thys ys
 your purpos; but, Master Lupset, here we must a lytyl 86
 stey. Me semyth you remembyr not the commyn say-
 ing, "He was neuer gud mastur that neuer was scoler,
 nor neuer gud capitayne that neuer was soudiar." I
 thynke hyt veray conuenient, befor I begyn to meddyl but before we
 can rule others,
 we must learn
 to rule
 ourselves.

¹ "cuntrey" is slightly scored out.

wyth the rule of other, surely to lerne to rule myselfe;
for he that can not gouerne one, vndowtydly lakkyth

93 craft to gouerne many. I neuer hard of any maryner
abul to gouerne a gret schyppe, wych neuer could
gouerne wel a lytyl botte. Wherfor, when I haue had
suffyceyent experyence of the rulyng of my selfe, *and* by
the opynyon of other jugyd to dow that ryght wel,

98 then, *perauentur*, I wyl not refuse the causys of my cun-
trey *and* rulyng of other. How be hyt, *Master Lvpset*,
in your *communycatyon*, me semyth, lyth no smal dowte.
I wold be glad to dow the best, *and* that to folow

102 wherin lyth the *perfectyon* of man; but wether hyt
stonde in the actyue lyfe, *and* in admynnystratyon of the
maters of the *commyn* wel, as you seme to say, or els
in the *contemplatiue* *and* knolege of thynges, hyt ys
not al sure. For, seyng the *perfectyon* of man restyth in
the mynd *and* in the chefe *and* puryst parte therof,

108 wych ys reson *and* intellygence, hyt semyth, wythout
dowte, that knolege of God, of nature, *and* of al the
workys therof, schold be the end of mannys lyfe, *and*
the chefe poynt therin of al men to be lokyd vnto.

Wherfor the old *and* antique **phylosopharys* forsoke
the medelyng with *materys* of *commyn* welys, *and*
applied themselfys to the secrete studys *and* serchyng

115 of nature as to the chefe thyng wherin semyd to rest
the *perfectyon* of man; and thus to them hyt apperyd
that prudence *and* pollycey were not to be comparyd
wyth hye *phylosophye*. Bettur hyt semyd to them to
know God *and* the hole course of nature then to know
the ordur *and* rule of cytes *and* townys;—bettur to

121 know the lawys that nature hath set in mannys hart
surely, then the lawys wych mannys wyt hath deuysyd
by pollycey;—of the wych, the one *perteynyth* to the
cyuyle *and* polytyke lyfe; the other, to the quyat *and*
125 *contemplatyue*. Wherfor, though I were in dede apte to
meddyl wyth the *materys* of the *commyn* wele, yet hyt

When he has
had experience
he will do his
best,

either in active
or contemplative
life.

[* Page 30.]
Old philosophers
applied them-
selves to study,

and thought
philosophy best;

and that it was
better to know
nature's laws
than man's.

may be dowtyd, *Master Lvpset*, as hyt apperyth, whether 127
hyt be best so to dow or not.

5. *Lvpset*.—Wel, *Master Pole*, as touchyng your
aptenes, I wyl now no ferther reson, of the wych no
man doth dowte : wherfor thys ys but an excuse ; *and*
so that *parte* I wyl leue. But, *Syr*, of your dowt I 132
somewhat wyth my selfe now dow maruayle. For
though hyt be so that many of the auneyent phylo-
sopharys, for the mayntenaunce of theyr idul *and* slomer-
yng lyfe, dowtyd much therof, yet, me semyth, you,
aftur so many yerys had in the study of the scole of 137

Arystotyl, schold no thyng dowte therin at al ; in so
much as he techyth *and* scho[w]yth most manyfestely
the perfectyon of man to stond joyntely in both,
and nother in the bare contemplatyon *and* knolege of
thyngys separat from al besynes of the world, nother in 142

L. says
Aristotle taught
that perfection
consists in
contemplation
joined to an
active life.

the admynystratyon of materys of the commyn wele,
wythout any ferther regard *and* dyrectyon therof ; for
of them, aftur hys sentence, the one ys the end of the
other. As we may also see by commyn experyence, al
laburys, besynes, *and* trauayle of wyse men, handelyd 147

in materys of the commyn wel, are euer referryd to thys
end *and* purpos, that the *hole body of the commynalty
may lyue in quyetnes *and* tranquyllyte ; euery parte
dowyng hys offyce *and* duty ; *and* so, as much as the
nature of man wyl suffer, al to attayne to theyr natural 152

[* Page 51.]

perfectyon. To thys euery honest man, medelyng in the
commyn wele, ought to loke chefely vnto ; thys ys the
marke that euery man, prudent and polytyke, ought to
schote at ; fyrst, to make hymselfe per fayte, wyth al
vertues garnyschyng hys mynd ; *and* then to commyn
the same perfectyon to other. For lytyl awaylyth vertue
that ys not publyschyd abroad to the profyt of other ;
lytyl awaylyth tresore closyd in coffurys, wych neuer ys 160
communyd to the succur of other ; for al such gyftys of
God *and* nature must euer be applyd to the commyn

Every man
must strive to
make himself
perfect, and then
try to improve
others,

- 163 *profyt and vtylyte.* Wherby man, as much as he may,
 thus following the nature of God; schal euer folow the nature of God, whose infynyte
 gudnes ys by thys chefely declaryd *and* openyd to the
 world, that to euery thyng *and* creature he gyuyth
 parte therof, accordyng to theyr nature *and* capacitye.
- 168 So that vertue *and* lernyng, not communyd to other, ys
 lyke vnto ryches hepyd in cornerys, neuer applyd to
 the vse of other.
- (5.) Therfor hyt ys not suffyeyent, a man to get
 knolege *and* vertue, delytyng hymselfe only therwyth,
- 173 as the old phylosopharys dyd, wych toke such plesure
 in pryuate studys, that they despysyd the polytyke
 lyfe of man; but chefely he must study to *commyn*
 hys vertues to the profyte of other. *And* thys ys the
 end of the cyuyle lyfe, or, as me semyth, rather the
- 178 true admynystratyon of the *commyn* wele; the wych you
 see now, Mastur Pole, how thes phylosopharys, by
 whose examplu you appere to excuse your selfe, most
 avoydyd *and* vniustely fled, ouer much delytyng in
 theyr owne pryuate studys. How be hyt, I wyl not yet
- 183 say *and* playnly affyrme that therein they dyd vturly
 nought, so absteynyng from the *commyn* wele; the
 wych, *perauentur*, they *dyd, other bycause they found
 themselfe not met to the handelyng of such materys,
 or els bycause they wold, as you sayd of your selfe,
- [* Page 32.]
- 188 fyrst lerne to rule themselfe befor they toke upon them
 any rule of other. But thys one thyng I dare affyrme,
 —that yf they dyd for thys purpos abstayne, as therby
 to attayne hyar perfectyon, *and* so to folow the best
 trade of lyfe, then they surely were deceyuyd; for
- 193 though hyt be so that lernyng *and* knolege of nature be
 a plesaunt thyng, *and* a hye perfectyon of mannys
 mynd *and* nature, yet yf you sundurly compare hyt
 wyth justyce *and* pollycey, vndowtydly hyt ys not to
 be preferryd therto as a thyng rather to be chosen *and*
- 198 folowyd. For who ys he so fer wythout reson, that

and this the
 philosophers
 did not do.

Knowledge is
 not to be
 compared to
 justice;

wold not, thought he myght, by hys pryuate study *and* labur, know al the secretys of nature, leue al that asyde, *and* apply hymselfe rather to helpe hys hole cuntrey by prudence *and* pollycy, non other wyse then he wold dow wych lakkyth fode necessary to hys body, rather procure that, then the knolege of al natural 204
phylosophy ?

for who would
not help his
country rather
than know the
secrets of nature ?

(5.) For euer that wych ys best ys not of al men nor at al tymys to be persuyd ; hyt ys mete for a man beyng syke rather to procure hys helth, then to study about the procuring of the commyn welth. Hyt 209
ys bettur, as Arystotyl sayth, for a man being in gret pouerty, rather to procure some ryches then hys phylosophy ; *and* yet philosophy of hyt selfe, as al men know, ys fer to be preferryd aboue al wordly ryches. *And* so, lyke wyse, al be hyt that *hys phylosophy *and* contemplation of nature be of hyt selfe a grettur perfectyon of 215
mannys mynd, as hyt wych ys the end of the actyue lyfe, to the wych al mennys dedys schold euer be referryd ; yet the medelyng wyth the causys of the commyn wel ys more necessary, *and* euer rather *and* fyrst to be chosen, as the pryncypal mean wherby we may attayne to the other. For hyther tendyth al prudence *and* pollycy, to 221
bryng the hole cuntrey to quyetnes *and* cyuylte, that euery man, *and* so the hole, may at the last attayn to such perfectyon as by nature ys to the dygnyte of man dew ; wych, as hyt semyth, restyth in the commynyng of al such vertues, as to the dygnyte of man are con- 226
uenient, to the profyt of other lyuyng togydur in cyuyle lyfe *and* polytyke ; ye, *and*, as hyt were, in the forming of other to theyr natural perfectyon. For lyke as the body of man ys then most perfayt in hys nature when hyt hath powar to gendur a nother lyke therunto, 231
so ys the mynd then most perfyte when hyt communyth *and* spredyth hys vertues abroad, to the instructyon of

But philosophy
is to be preferred
to riches,

[* Page 33.]

and the good of
the common-
wealth to all
other things.

Man's mind is
most perfect

- when it
endeavours to
communicate that
which is good to
others;
- 234 other ; then hyt ys most lyke vnto the nature of God,
whose *infynyte* vertue ys therin most *perceyuyd*, that
he *commynyth* hys gudnes to al creaturys—to some
more, to some les, accordyng to theyr nature *and*
dygnyte. Wherfor hyt ys not to be dowtyd, but yf thos
- 239 antyent phylosopharys, mouyd by any plesure of theyr
secrete studys, abhorryd thys from the polytyke lyfe
and from thys *commynyng* of theyr vertues to the
profyt of other in cyuylyte, they were gretely to be
blamyd, *and* by no mean can be excusyd, as they wych
- not in obtaining
knowledge
without
application.
[* Page 34.]
- 244 *pretermyttyd and* left theyr chefe offyce *and* duty, to
the wych they were by nature most bounden. For, as
you playnly, Mastur Pole, now see, the *perfectyon* of
man stondyth not in bare knolege **and* lernyng wyth-
out applycatyon of hyt to any vse or profyt of other ;
- 249 but the veray *perfectyon* of mannys mynd restyth in
the vse *and* exerceyse of al vertues *and* honesty, *and*
chefely in the chefe vertue, where vnto tend al the
other, wych ys dowteles the *communying* of hye wys-
dome to the vse of other, in the wych stondyth mannys
- 254 felycyte. So that thys, Master Pole, now you, I trow,
playnly dow see, that yf you wyl folow the trade of the
ancient phylosopharys, you schal not folow that thyng
wych I am sure you aboue al other most desyre ;—that
ys to say, the best kynd of lyfe *and* most comuenyent to
- So the ancient
philosophers
must not be
followed.
- 259 the nature of man, wych ys borne to *commyn* cyuylyte,
one euer to be redy to helpe another, by al gud *and*
ryght pollycy.
- P. says one
doubt is
removed,
6. Pole.—Wel, Master Lypset, you haue ryght wel
satsfyd me in my dowte, I can not deny ; but yet (in
- 264 so much as your *communycatyon* ys groundyd on that
wych semyth dowtful) therwyth you haue brought me
into a nother gretur then that. You sayd last of al, *that*
man ys borne *and* of nature brought forth to a cyuylyte,
and to lyue in polytyke ordnr,—the wych thyng to me
- but a greater
is left.
- 269 semyth elene contrary. For yf you cal thys cyuylyte *and*

lyuyng in polytyke ordur, a commynalty to lyue other vnder a prynce or a commyn counsel in cytes *and* townys, me semyth man schold not be borne therto, for 272

as much as man at the begynnyng lyuyd many yerys wyt[h]out any such pollycy ; at the wych tyme he lyuyd more *vertusely*, *and* more accordyng to the dygnyte of hys nature, then he doth now in thys wych you cal polytyke ordur *and* cyuylte. We see also now in our days 277

thos men wych lyue out of cytes *and* townys, *and* haue fewyst lawys to be gouernyd by, lyue bettur then other dow in theyr gudly cytes neuer so wel byllyd *and* inhabytyd, gouernyd wyth so many lawys for commyn.

You see by experyence in grete cytes most vyce, most suttylty *and* craft ; *and*, contrary, euer in the rude cuntrey *most study of vertue *and* veray true symplycyte. [* Page 35.]

You se what adultery, murdur, *and* vyce ; what vsury, craft, *and* dysceyte ; what glotony *and* al plesur of body, ys had in cytes *and* townys, by the reson of thys soeyety *and* cumpany of men togydur, wych al in the cuntrey *and* rude lyfe of them ys avoyded, by the reson

that they lyfe not togydur aftur your cyuylte. Therefore yf thys be cyuyle lyfe *and* ordur, to lyue in cytes *and* townys wyth so much vyce *and* mysordur, me seme man schold not be borne therto, but rather to lyfe 293

in the wyld forest, ther more folowyng the study of vertue, as hyt ys sayd men dyd in the golden age, where in man lyuyd accordyng to hys natural dygnyte. as men did in the "golden age."

7. *Lvpset*.—Nay, Maystur Pole, you take the mater amys. Thys ys not the cyuyle lyfe that I mean,—to lyue togydur in cytes *and* townys so fer out of ordur, as hyt were a multytude conspyryng togeddur in vyce, one takyng plesure of a nother wythout regard of honesty.

But thys I cal the cyuyle lyfe, *contrary*, lyuyng togydur in gud *and* polytyke ordur, one euer redy to dow gud to a nother, *and*, as hyt were, conspyryng togydur in 304

aurea etas¹

Man at the beginning liue! more virtuously than now,

and men out of cities live better than those in them.

And so he thinks it better to live in a forest and study virtue,

as men did in the "golden age."

L. says, "You take me amiss.

Civil life is the living together in virtue,

¹ In margin of MS.

- 305 al vertue *and* honesty. Thys ys the veray true *and* cyuyle lyfe ; *and* though hyt be so that man abussyth the socyety *and* cumpany of man in cytes *and* townys, gyuyng hymselfe to al vyce, yet we may not therfor cast downe cytes *and* townys, *and* dryue man to the woodys
- 310 agayne *and* wyld forestys, wherin he lyuyd at the fyrst begynnnyng rudely ; the faut wherof ys nother in the cytes nor townys, nother in the lawys ordeynyd therto, but hyt ys in the malyce of man, wych abussyth *and* turnyth that thyng wych myght be to hys welth *and*
- 315 felycyte to hys owne dystrectyon *and* mysery ; as he doth al most al thyng that God *and* nature hath prouydyd to hym for the mayntenance of hys lyfe. For how abussyth he hys helth, strangth, *and* buety,
- 319 hys wyt, lernyng, *and* pollycy ; how al maner of metys *and* drynkys to the vayn plesure of the body ; ye, *and* schortly to say, euery thyng al most he abussyth ; *and* yet they thynges are not therfor vturly *to be cast away, nor to be taken from the vse of man. And so
- 324 the socyety *and* cumpany of man ys not to be accusyd as the cause of thys mysordur, but rather such as be grete, wyse, *and* polytyke men, wych flye from offyce *and* authoryte, by whose wysdome the multytude myght be conteynyd *and* kept in gud ordur *and* cyuy-
- 329 lyte ; such I say are rather to be blamyd. For, lyke as by the perswasyon of wyse men, in the begynnnyng, men were brought from theyr rudenes *and* bestyal lyfe, to thys cyuylyte so natural to man, so by lyke wysdome they must be conteynyd *and* kept therin. Therfor, Master Pole, wythout any mo cauyllytonys, me semyth, hyt schold be best for you to apply your mynd to be of the
- 336 nombur of them wych study to restor thys cyuyle ordur, *and* maynteyn thys vertuose lyfe, in cytes *and* townys to the commyn vtylyte.

and if men do
not so live,
the fault is in
them, not in
cities.

Man abuses
almost every-
thing,

[* Page 36.]

and those who
avoid office are
to blame for it ;

and so it would
be well for you
to do what you
can."

8. *Pole*.—As for cauyllytonys, Master Lvpset, I purpos to make non, except you cal them cauyllytonys

wych I cal resonyng *and* dowtyng for the cleryng of the truth, of the wych sort I wyl not yet cesse to make more when so euer your communycatyon ys not to me clere; therfor, wyth pardon, you must patyently here me dowl a lytyl ferther, mouyd of your wordys. You sayd ryght now *that* thys cyuyle lyfe was a polytyke ordur, *and*, as hyt were, a conspyracy in honesty *and* vertue, stablysc[h]yd by commyn assent; thys, me semyth, bryngyth the hole mater in more dowte then hyt was yet before, ye *and* bryngyth al to vncertaynty *and* playn confusyon. For they Turkys wyl surely say on theyr behalfe that theyr lyfe ys most natural *and* polytyke, *and* that they consent togydur in al vertue *and* honesty. The Sarasyn contrary, apon hys behalfe, wyl defend hys pollycy, saying that hys of al ys most best *and* most conuenient to mannys dygnyte. The Jue constantly wyl affyrme hys law to be aboue al other, als receyuyd of Goddys owne mouth immedyaty. *And* the Chrystun man most surely beleuyth that hys law *and* relygyon ys aboue the rest most agreabul to reson *and* nature as a thyng conffyrmyd by Goddys owne dyuynyte. So that by thys *mean hyt apperyth al stondyth in the jugement *and* opynyon of man, in so much that wych ys the veray true polytyke *and* cyuyle lyfe, no man surely by your dyffynytyon can affyrme wyth any certaynty.

9. *Lvpset*.—Wel, Syr, thys ys no smal dowte to some men wych now you haue mouyd. Wherfor, bycause suche ther be wych couertly take away al cyuylte, *and* wold bryng al to confusyon *and* tyranny, saying ther ys no dyfference betwyx vyce *and* vertue but strong opynyon, *and* that al such thyngys hang of the folysch fancy *and* jugement of man; I schal fyrst schow you how vertue stondyth by nature *and* not only by the opynyon of man; and second how *and* by what mean thys folysch opynyon cam in to thos lyght braynys. *And*, fyrst, thys ys certayn and sure,—that man by nature fere excellyth

P. says,
he is in more
doubt than
before;

347

all now seems
confusion;

352

all nations say
they live in
virtue and
honesty—
Turks,
Saracens,
Jews, and
Christians.

358

[* Page 37.]

363

L. sees the force
of this doubt,
and proceeds
to show,

369

First, That vertue
stands by nature,
and not by
man's opinion
only. Second,
How this fancy
came into men's
brains.

377 in dygnyte al other creaturys in erthe, where he ys by
the hye prouydence of God set to gouerne *and* rule,
ordur *and* tempur al to hys plesure by wysdome *and*
pollycy, non other wyse then God hym selfe doth in
381 heuyn gouerne *and* rule al celestyal thyngys *immedyatyly*.

The old philoso-
phers called him
an earthly god,
lord of all other
beasts and
creatures.

Wherfor he was of the old phylosopharys callyd a erthely
god, *and*, as hyt wer, lord of al other bestys *and* creaturys,
applying them al vnto hys vse, for al be vnto hym sub-
iecte, al by pollycy are brought to hys obedyence, ther
ys no best so strong, fers, or hardy, so wyld, oode, or cruel,

387 but to *man* by wysdom he ys subduyd ; wherby ys *per*-
ceyuyd euydently the excellent dygnyte of hys nature.

His excellent
dignity ;

And ferther more, playnly thys thyng to see, let vs, as
hyt were, out of a hyar place, behold *and* consydr the
wondurful workys of *man* here apon erth ; where fyrst
we schal se the gudly cytes, castellys, *and* townys,
byllyd for the *settyng forth of the polytyke lyfe,

his wonderful
works ;

[* Page 33.]

394 pleasauntly set as they were sterrys apon erthe ; wherin
we schal see also meruelus gud lawys, statutys, *and*
ordynancys, deuysyd by *man* by hye pollycy, for the
maynteynyng of the cyuyle lyfe. We schal see infynye

good laws,

strange arts and
crafts,

strange artys *and* craftys, inuentyd by mannys wyt for
399 hys *commodityte*, some for plesure, *and* some for necessitye.
Ferther, we schal see how by hys labur *and* dylygence he
hath tyllyd the erth, *and* brought forth infynye frutys
for hys necessary fode *and* plesaunt sustenance ; so that
now the erth, wych els schold haue leyne lyke a forest

404 rude *and* vntyllyd, by the dylygent labur *and* pollycy
of *man* ys brought to maruelous culture *and* fortylite.

Thys, yf we wyth our selfe reson *and* consydr the
workys of *man* here apon erth, we schal nothyng dowte of
hys excellent dygnyte, but playnly affyrme, that he hath

prove his diuine
nature.

409 in hym a sparkul of Dyvynyte, *and* ys surely of a
celestyal *and* dyuine nature, seyng that by memory *and*
wyte also he conceyuyth the nature of al thyng. For ther
ys no thyng here in thys world, nother in heuyn aboue,

nor in erth byneth, but he by hys reson comprehendyth 413
 hyt. So that I thynke we may conclude that *man* by
 nature, in excellence *and* dygnyte, euen so excellyth He excels all in
 dignity,
 al other creaturys here apon erthe, as God excedyth the
 nature of *man*.

(9.) And now to our purpos. Thus hyt apperyth 418
 to me, that lyke as *man* by nature excellyth al other
 in dygnyte, so he hath certayn *vertues by nature con- [* Page 59.]
 uenient to the same excellency, they wych, by the opy- and his virtues
 correspond
 with it.
 nyon of *man*, are not conceyuyd and groundyd in hart,
 nor yet be not *propur* to one natyon *and* not to a nother, 423
 but stablyschyd by nature, are *commayn* to al mankynd.
 As, by exampul, ther ys a certyn equitye *and* justyce
 among al natyonys *and* pepul, wherby they are inclynyd
 one to dow gud to a nother, one to be bunfyceyal to a
 nothur, lyuyng togydder in a cumpynabul lyfe. *And*, 428
 lyke wyse, ther ys a certayn temperance of the plesurys Temperance and
 of the body, wych ys not mesuryd by the opynyon of
man, but by the helth therof *and* natural propagatyon,
 as to ete *and* drynke only to supporte the helth *and*
 strenght of the body, *and* to vse moderate plesure wyth 433
 woman; for lawful increse of the pepul ys, among al
 men *and* al natyonys, estymyd vertue *and* honesty. *And*
 in lyke maner *man*, wyth grete currage to defend hym- courage every-
 where are
 considered
 virtues.
 selfe from al violence of other iniurys or wrongys, ye
and patyently to suffur al such chaunce as can not be
 avoydyd, ys, amonge al pepul, taken as a nobul vertue. 439
 Ther ys also a certyn wyt *and* pollycey by nature gyuen
 to *man* in euery place *and* cuntrey, wherby he ys in-
 clynyd to lyue in cyuyle ordur accordyng to the dygnyte
 of hys nature; *and* to perceyue the mean how he may
 attayn therto, ther ys, ferthermor, in al men by nature, 444
 wythout any other instructyon, rotyd a certayn reuer- Man's reverence
 to God
 universal.
 ence to God, wherby they honowre hym as *gouernour*
and rular *of al thys world. For yet ther was neuer na- [* Page 40.]
 tyon so rude or blynd but fortheys cause they relygyously

- 449 worschyppeyd *and* honowryd the name of God. Thes
 These and other
 virtues are
 planted in man's
 heart by nature ;
 vertues, *and* other lyke, wherby man, of nature meke,
 gentyl, *and* ful of humanyte, ys inclynnyd *and* sterryd
 to cyuyle ordur *and* louyng cumpny, wyth honeste be-
 hauyour both toward God *and* man, are by the powar of
 454 nature in the hart of man rotyd *and* plantyd, *and* by no
 vayn opynyon or fansy conceyuyd. *And* thought hyt be
 so that amongys al natyonys many so lyue, as they had
 vttruly forgotten the dygnyte of thys theyr nature, *and*
 had no such vertues by nature in them set *and* plantyd ;
 459 yet among them al, few ther be, or non, wych, so
 lyuyng, juge themselfe to dow wel, but thynke them-
 selfe they are slyppyd *and* fallen from the excellency of
 theyr nature, wyth grete *and* contynual gruge of con-
 seyence inwardly. For they haue rotyd in theyr hartys
 464 a certayn rule, euer repugnynge to theyr maner of lyfyng,
 wych they, by neeligente incontynence, suffur to be cor-
 rupt ; the wych rule, so certayn *and* so stabul, ys callyd
 of phylosopharys *and* wyse men, the vnyuersal *and* true
 law of nature, wych to al natyonys ys commyn, no
 469 thyng hangyng of the opynyon *and* folysch fansy of
 man. In so much that yf man, by corrupt *jugement,
 wold extyme vertue as vyce, no thyng regardyng hys
 owne dygnyte, yet vertues, by theyr owne nature, be no
 les vertues, nor mynyschyd of theyr excellency, by any
 474 such frantyke fansy ; no more then yf al men togydur
 wold conspyre that there were no God, who by that
 folysch opynyon schold no thyng be mynysched of hys
 hye maiesty, or yf they wold say that he nother gou-
 ernyth nor rulyth thys world, yet theyr opynyon makyth
 no les hys hye prouydence. Wherfor playnly hyt ap-
 peryth that thes vertues stond not in the opynyon of
 man, but by the bunfyte *and* powar of nature in hys
 hart are rotyd *and* plantyd, inclynnyng hym euer to the
 483 cyuyle lyfe, accordyng to the excellent dygnyte of hys

but many live as
 though they had
 forgotten their
 natural dignity,
 and fall from its
 excellency.

This law of nature
 is common to all
 nations.

[* Page 41]

Wherefore it is
 plain these virtues
 do not stand in
 opinion,

nature ; *and* thys inclynatyon *and* rule of lyuyng, by thes vertues stablyd *and* confyrmyd, ys callyd, as I sayd, the law of nature, wych though al men folow not, yet al men approue. 486

but by the power of nature.

(9.) But here we must note, that lyke as in many thyngys, wych by experyence we dayly se, nature requyryth the dylygence of man, leuyng them vnperfayt of themselfe, as the sedys *and* frutys of the grounde, wych sche wyl neuer bryng to perfectyon, yf man wythhold hys dylygence *and* labur ; so in thes vertues *and* law of nature, sche requyryth the ayd *and* dylygence of man, wych els wyl soone be oppressyd *and* eorrupt. *Ther be in mannys lyfe so many occasyonys of destroyng these sedys *and* vertues, plantys *and* lawys, that excepte ther be joynyd some gud prouysyon for theyr spryngyng vp *and* gud culture, they schal neuer bryng forth theyr frute, they schal neuer bryng man to hys perfectyon. Wherfor amonge al men *and* al natyonys, as I thynk, apon erth, ther be, *and* euer hathe byn, other certayn custumys *and* manerys by long vse *and* tyme confyrmyd *and* approuyd ; other lawys wryten *and* deuysyd by the polytyke wytte of man receyuyd *and* stablyschyd for the mayntenaunce *and* setting forward of thes natural sedys *and* plantys of vertue ; wych custume *and* law by man so ordeynyd *and* deuysyd ys callyd the cyuyle law, for bycause they be as meanys to bryng man to the perfectyon of the cyuyle lyfe ; wythout the ordynance of thes lawys, the other sone wylbe corrupt, the wedys wyl sone ouergrow the gud corne. Thys law cyuyle is fer dyfferent from the other ; for in euery cuntrey hyt ys dyuerse *and* varyabul, ye almost in euery cyte *and* towne. Thys law takyth effecte of the opynyon of man, hyt restyth holly in hys consent, *and* varyth accordyng to the place *and* tyme, in so much that in dyuerse tyme *and* place contrary lawys are both gud, *and* both conuenient to the polytyke lyfe. Wher as the law of

But here we must note the many things in which nature requires the diligence of man.

494

[* Page 42]

Dangers to virtue.

499

All nations have certain customs and manners,

504

called civil law,

509

which differs from the universal law of nature, and varies in every country.

519

- 520 nature ys euer one, in al cuntries fyrme *and* stabul, and
 The law of nature
 is unvariable, neuer for the tyme varyth ; hyt ys neuer chaungeabul ;
 the consent of man doth no thyng therto ; hyt hangyth
 no thyng of tyme nor place, but accordyng as ryght
 [* Page 43.] reson ys euer one, so ys thys law, *and* neuer *varyth
 525 aftur the fansy of man. Thys law ys the ground *and* end
 of the other, to the wych hyt must euer be referryd, non
 other wyse then the conclusyonys of artys mathematical
 and is aided by
 the civil law. are euer referryd to theyr pryncypullys. For cyuyle
 ordynance ys but as a mean to bryng man to obserue
 530 thys law of nature, in so much that, yf ther be any
 cyuyle law ordeynyd wych can not be resoluyd therto,
 hyt ys of no value ; for al gud cyuyle lawys spryng *and*
 yssue out of the law of nature, as brokys *and* ryuerys
 out of fountaynys *and* wellys ; *and* to that al must be
 535 resoluyd *and* referryd as to the end why they be or-
 deynyd, to the obseruatyon wherof they are but as
 meanys.
- Thus we see that
 virtue and
 honesty do not
 rest in opinion
 only, but also in
 nature ; (9.) *And* thus now I thynke, Master Pole, we may
 se that al vertue *and* honestye restyth not in the strong
 opynyon of man, but that, lyke as ther ys a certayn law
 541 by nature ordeynyd to induce *and* bryng man to a lyfe
 conuenyent *and* accordyng to hys excellent dygnyte, so
 ther [is] a certayn vertue *and* honesty consequently an-
 nexyd to the same law, wych by the powar of nature only,
 545 *and* no thyng by the opynyon of man, ys so stablyd *and*
 set, that al be hyt, that al men by yl educatyon corrupt,
 wold consent *and* agre to a contrary ordur, yet were
 that law, that vertue *and* honesty, of no les powar,
 549 strength, nor authoritye. And lyke as to thys law of na-
 ture ys consequently *annexyd thys natural vertue *and*
 honesty,—wych in euery place *and* tyme ys of equal
 powar,—so ther ys to law cyuyle, *and* the obseruatyon
 therof, couplyd also a certayn vertue *and* honesty, wych
 lyke to the law only remenyth in the opynyon of man
 555 *and* hath hys strength *and* powar therof. For though
- [* Page 44.]
 and are joined to
 civil and natural
 law.

hyt be so that, to be obedyent to the lawys cyuyle, so 556
 long as they be not contrary to the law of God nor of
 nature, ys euer vertue *and* honesty ; yet to thys law or
 that law, al men are not bounden, but only such as re- Civil laws only
 binding on those
 who receive them.
 ceyue them, *and* be vnder the domynyon of them, wych
 haue authoryte of makynge therof. As to absteyn from 561
 flesh upon the Fryday, wyth vs hyt ys now reputyd
 a certayn vertue, wyth the Turkys no thyng so ; prestys
 to lyue chaste, wyth vs hyt ys a certayn vertue *and*
 honesty, wyth the Grekys hyt ys no thyng so ; to mary
 but one wyfe, wyth vs hyt ys a certayn vertue also, wyth 566
 other natyonys, as Turkys, Morys, *and* Sarasyns, hyt ys
 no thyng so. *And* thus in infynyte other hyt ys euident
 to se, how that to be obedyent to the lawys in euery To be obedient
 to the laws is a
 virtue.
 cuntrey hyt ys a certayn vertue, but of that sort wych
 hath hys strength *and* powar holly of the opynyon 571
and consent of man. *And* so thys ys truth as now you
 may see, that vertue *and* honesty partely stondyth by
 nature *and* partely by the opynyon of man ; wherby So you see virtue
 stands by nature
 and opinion.
 now you may perceyue the pestylent persuasyon of them
 wych say *and* affyrme betwyx vyce *and* vertue *no [* Page 47.]
 dyfference to be, but only strong opynyon *and* fancy ; 577
 they wold bryng al to confusyon, *and* leue no ordur by
 nature certayn. But the veray cause of theyr error ys He proceeds to
 show,
 arrogant blyndnes ; they thynke themselfe to be of such
 hye pollycy that no man may see so fer as they, *and* in- 581
 dede they see les then other. Such haue only a lytyl
 smaterynge in gud lernynge *and* hye phylosophye ; they
 comprehend not the hole ordur of nature ; they conceyue
 not the excellent dygnyte of man ; the[y] depely consydur
 not the maner of lyuynge accordynge to the same, by the 586
 reson wherof they can not dyscerne the powar of thys
 natural law ; they can not see thys hye vertue *and* hon- there is no
 difference, except
 opinion, between
 virtue and vice.
 esty couplyd therto. But bycause man, yf he be brough[t]
 vp in corrupt opynyon, hath no perceyueance of thys
 natural law, but suffryth hyt by necygeance to be op- 591

592 pressyd, as ther wer no such sedys plantyd in hym ;
therfor they say, al stondyth in the opynyon of *man*, al
restyth in hys fansy, *and* that hys consent only makyth
both vertue *and* vyce.

(9.) *And* thus now, *Mastur* Pole, you haue hard

597 schortly, aftur myn opynyon, the cause of such errors,
wherby some are dryuen to juge al vyce *and* vertue
only to consiste in the opynyon of *man*, wych ys arro-
gant blyndnes, no thyng consydering the dygnyte of
man, nor the lyfe accordyng to the same ; but of hys

They are blind
and do not
consider man's
divinity.

602 actys mesuryng hys dygnyte, affyrme playnly, that seyng
*so commynly he folowyth vyce, that, by nature, vertue
ther ys non, but that only men conspyre by consent to
cal vertue that which indede ys non. Wych ys much

[* Page 46.]

They say by
nature there is
no vertue,

607 spyre to say ther were no God, that theyr folysch consent
by *and* by schold take away the nature of God. Wherin
you see the grete foly *and* blyndnes, wych ys no les in
thys, to say that vertue, by nature, ther ys non, bycause
the most parte of men folow vyce, *and* in theyr hartys
dow, as hyt were, conspyre agayne the dygnyte of vertue
and nature of *man*. They consydyr not the fraylty of

because most
men follow vice :

614 man, wych seyng the best folowyth the worst, ouer
comme by sensual plesure ; they consydyr not the nec-
lygence of man, wych suffryth hys sedys, by nature in-
stincte, by wordly occasyonys to be ouer run ; they con-
sydyr not the blyndenes of *man*, wych by yl educatyon
grouth in hym ; but of the effecte folyschely they juge
al to stond in the opynyon of *man* ; *and* thys ys the
cause of theyr folysch erreure. And so now of thys to

they do not
consider the
blindness which
comes of bad
education.

Hence these
errors.

622 make answeare to your dowte, *Master* Pole, me semyth
no thyng hard at al ; for though hyt be so that the
Turke, *Sarasyn*, *Jue*, *and* *Chrystun man*, *and* other dy-
uerse sectys *and* natyon[ys], dyssent *and* dyscorde in the
maner of pollycey, euery one jugyng hys owne to be best,
yet in al such thyng as perteynyth by *nature to the

[* Page 47]

dygnyte of man *and* maner of lyuyng accordyng to the 628
 same, they consent *and* agre, wythout any dyscord or
 dyuersyte. Al jüge God aboue al to be honowryd as
 gournour *and* rular of thys world ; al jüge one bound to
 ayd *and* succur a nother ; al jüge hyt to be conuenient
 to lyue togyddur in polytyke lyfe. So that in the law 633
and rule by nature conuenient to the dygnyte of man,
and in al vertue *and* honesty annexyd to the same, surely
 they agre. Wherfor, al be hyt the[y] dysse[n]t in theyr
 cyuyle ordynance *and* polytyke mean of the obseruance
 of thys commyn law, yet hyt ys not to be dowtyd but 638
 the cyuyle lyfe ys a polytyke ordur of men conspyryng
 togyddur in vertue *and* honesty, of such sort as by na-
 ture ys conuenient to the dygnyte of man. *And* as
 touchyng the dyscord in the partyeular mean of kepyng
 thes lawys, plantyd by nature, as some men thynke of 643
 hye wysdome and lernyng, hyt gretely forsyth not at al ;
 for how dyuerse so euer they cyuyle lawys be, and
 varyabul in euery secte *and* cuntre, yet so long as
 man ordryd therby fayllyth not from the ground *and*
 erryth not from the end, but kepyth thys natural law,
 insewyth the vertue annexyd to the same, he then
 folowyth the polytyke ordur, *and* kepyth gud cyuylte. 650
 In so much that the Jue, Sarasyn, Turke, *and* More, so
 long as they obserue theyr cyuyle ordynance *and* sta-
 tutys, deusyd by theyr old fatherys in *euery secte, 655
 dyrectyng them to the law of nature ; so long, I say, ther
 be men wych ernystely affyrme them to lyue wel, *and*
 euery one in hys secte to be sauyd, *and* non to perysch
 vturly ; seying the infynyte gudnes of God hathe no les
 made them aftur hys owne ymage *and* forme, then he
 hath made the Chrystun man ; *and* the most parte of
 them neuer, perauentur, hard of the law of Chryst. 660
 Wherfor, so long as they lyue aftur the law of nature,
 obseruyng also theyr cyuyle ordynance, as mean to bryng
 them to the end of the same, they schal not be damnyd.

In all things
 which pertain
 to man's dignity,
 all nations agree,

although they
 differ in civil
 affairs.

However diverse
 civil laws may be,
 yet the people
 which keep them,

and strive to
 live up to the
 law of nature,

[* Page 48.]

shall not be
 damned.

But let us leave this, as St Paul did, to God, and rest assured that our laws are agreeable to the law of nature.

664 Thys I haue hard the opynyon of grete wyse men, wel pondering the gudnes of God *and* of nature; but whether hyt be so or not, let vs, aftur the mynd of Sayn Poule, leue thys to the secrete iugement of God; *and* of thys be assuryd, of thys be certayn, that our lawys *and* ordyn-

669 *aneys* be agreabul to the law of nature, seyng they are al layd by Chryst hymselfe *and* by hys Holy Spryte. We are sure they schal bryng vs to our saluatyon yf we gyue *perfayt* fayth *and* sure trust to the promys of God in them to vs made. Thys to vs faythful *and* Chrystun

674 men ys no dowte. Therfor how other sectys schal dow, to what *perfectyon* so euer theyr lawys schal bryng them, let the secret wysdome of God therof be iuge, and let vs be assuryd that our lawys, by Chryst the Sone of God, *and* by hys Holy Spryte *ineresyd and confirmyd*, schal bryng * vs to such *perfectyon* as accordyth to the

[* Page 49.]

680 dygnyte of the nature of man. Of thys thyng we are by fayth *confirmyd*, more sure, more certayne, then of thos thyngys wych we se, fele, or her, or by any sens may *perceyue*. Wherfor, Mastur Pole, let thys *dyuersyte* of sectys *and* lawys no thyng trowbul vs at al, wych, *per-*
auentur of necessity, folowyth the nature of man, *non*
 other wyse then the *dyuersyte* of language *and* tong.

The diversity of sects and laws must not trouble us more than the diversity of language.

687 For lyke as man naturally ys borne to speke *and* expresse the conceyte of mynd one to a nother, *and* yet to no *partycular* language they are borne, so to folow the law of nature al men are borne, al natyonys by nature are *inclynyd* therto; *and* yet to no *partycular* mean by

692 cyuyle ordynance deered they are nother bounden nor borne. Therfor, notwythstondyng thys *dyuersyte* of sectys *and* lawys, we may yet ryght wel affyrme the *dyf-*
fynytyon of the cyuyle lyfe before sayd to be ryght gud *and* resonabul, wych ys a polytyke ordur of a multytude *conspyring* togyddur in vertue *and* honesty, to the

Notwithstanding this difference of laws, we may still affirm that civil life is a politic order of many agreeing together in virtue and honesty.

698 wych man by nature ys ordeynyd. Thys ys the end of mannys lyfe; to thys euery man ought to loke; to thys

euery man ought to referre al hys actys, thoughtys, *and* 700
 dedys ; thys euery man to hys powar ought to ayd *and*
 set forthe ; thys (al dowytyl layd aparte) euery man ought
 to study to maynteyn. *Wherfor, Maystur Pole, now I [* Page 50.]
 wyl in thys cause no more reson wyth you, but pray
 you, al occasyonys drawyng you from that layd asyde, to 705
 apply your selfe to the handelyng of the materys of the
 commyn wele, wych you know ryght wel ys the end of
 al studys, *and*, as you wold say, the only marke for
 euery honest mynd to schote at.

He again urges
 Pole to affairs of
 state.

10. *Pole*.—Maystur Lypset, you haue sayd ryght 710
 wel ; *and* though in dede I dowtyd no thyng of thys
 mater, that you so ernystely moue me vnto, yet hyt hath
 plesyd me wel to here you, wyth such phylosophycal
 resonys out of nature drawne, *conferme* the same, so
 manifestely *and* clerly declaryng hyt, that no man may 715
 dowte therof. For yf hyt be a gud thyng to helpe one,
 hyt ys vndowtydly much bettur to helpe many, ye *and*
 best of al to helpe a hole cuntrey ; in so much that man
 so dowyng neryst approchyth to the nature of God, who
 therby ys most perceyuyd to be God, that he communy-
 catyth hys gudnes to al other. Therfor, *Master Lypset*, I 721
 am content. Let vs agre apon thys, let vs take thys as a
 ground, that euery man ought to apply hymselfe to the
 setting forward of the commyn wele, euery man ought
 to study to helpe hys cuntrey. Yet ther ys a nother
 thyng to be consyderyd, wych hath causyd many grete,
 wyse, *and* polytyke men to abhorre from commyn welys, 727
and thys ys the regard of tyme *and* place. For though
 hyt be so that a man to meddyl wyth materys perteyn-
 yng to the wele of hys hole cuntrey, ys * of al thyng
 best *and* most to be desyryd, yet in some tyme *and* cer- 731
 tayne place hyt ys not to be temptyd of wyse men, wych
 ryght wel perceyue theyr labur to be spent in vayn ; as
 in tyme of tyranny, or in such place where they that
 rule are bent only to theyr pryuate wele. What thynke

P. owns the force
 of the
 reasoning,

and says how
 good it is to
 help a whole
 country ;

but there is
 another matter
 to be considered.

[* Page 51.]

Sometimes this
 is not to be
 attempted,
 as when tyranny
 and selfishness
 prevail.

736 you among such the conseyl of a wyse man schold
 avayle? Wythout dowte hyt schold be laughyd at, *and*
 no thyng at al hyt schold be regardyd, no more then a
 tale tollyd among deffe men. Werfor hyt semyth not
 wythout cause they euer absteynynd, in such tyme *and*

In such cases
 wise men suffer
 for their pains.

741 place, from medelyng wyth materys of the commyn
 wele; they see exampullys of many *and* dyuerse, wych
 wythout profyt had attemptyd the same, *and* no thyng
 got, but only that some of them therfor were put in
 exyle *and* bannyschyd from theyr cuntrey; some put in

Plato and Tully,
 and Seneca,
 would have
 succeeded better

746 pryson *and* myserably handlyd; *and* some to cruel *and*
 schameful deth. Hyt ys therfor no smal dyfference in
 what tyme *and* place a wyse man ys borne, *and* in
 what tyme he attempt to handyl materys of the commyn
 wele. Yf Plato had found in Cycyle a nobul prynce at
 such tyme as he cam thyder for the deuysyng of lawys,
 he had then schowyd grettur frutys of hys wysedome.

[* Page 52.]

if they had
 lived under
 better princes.

753 Yf Tully had not chauncyd in the tyme of the cyuyle
 warre betwyx Cesar *and* Pompey, the cyte of Roime
 schold haue haue seen *and* felt much more profyt of
 that nobul wytt. Yf Seneca had not byn in the tyme of
 Nero, so cruel a tyrann, * but in the tyme of Traiane, so
 nobul a prynce, hys vertue schold haue byn otherwyse
 extymyd, *and* brought forth other frute. Thys we se that

A man must
 regard time and
 place if he will
 handle matters
 of state;

760 vertue at al tymys can not schow hys lyght, no more
 then the sone at al tymys can sprede abroad hys beamys.
 Werfor they wych, wythout regard of tyme or place,
 wyl sett themselfe to handyl materys of the commyn
 wele, may wel be comparyd to them wych in grete tem-
 pest wyl commyt themselfe to the daungerys of the see,

766 or wythout wynd wyl set vp the sayle. Plutarch com-
 paryth them to such as, being them selfe in dry house,
 seing ther felowys delyte in the rayne, *and* wylling
 not to run out, but tary therin, are not content, but
 yssue out, no thyng obtaynyng, but only that they may
 771 be wet wyth theyr felowys. So they wych, wythout

regard of tyme or of place, run in to courtys *and* con- 772
 seyl of pryncys, were they here euery man speke of the
 commyn wele, euery man hath that oft in hys mouth, that,
 vnder the pretense *and* colour therof, they may the bettur
 procure theyr owne, sone be corrupt wyth lyke opynyon,
 sone draw lyke affecte. For as hyt ys commynly sayd, 777
 hard hyt ys dayly to be among thefys *and* be not a
 thefe. Euery man for the most parte ys lyke to them
 wyth whome he ys conuersant. Wherfor to attempt the
 handelyng of the materys of the commyn wele, wythout
 regard other of tyme or place, no thyng optaynyng, but
 only to be corrupt wyth lyke opynyons as they be 783
 wych meddyl therwyth, me semyth grete madnes *and*
 foly. * *And* so al be hyt therfor, Master Lxpset,¹ that
 to meddyl wyth materys of the commyn wele, *and*
 profyt your cuntrey, be in dede of al thyng that man 787
 may dow in thys lyfe the best *and* of hyst perfectyon,
 yet now to me hyt apperyth some respecte ys to be had
 both of tyme *and* of place.

and to meddle,
 without this
 regard, is
 madness.

[* Page 53.]

11. Lxpset.¹—Wel, Master Pole, as touchyng the
 respecte both of tyme *and* of place, I thynke hyt ys
 some thyng to be consyderyd ; *and* no dowte thos men, 793
 wych be of grete wysdome *and* hie pollycy, be also
 fortunate *and* happy, wych chaunce to be borne in
 such tyme when they wych haue in theyr cuntrey hie
 authoryte *and* rule, al ambycouse affectyon set apert,
 only procure the true commyn wele ; *and*, as Plato 798
 sayth, thos cuntreys be also happy wych haue such
 gouernurys as euer loke to the same. How be hyt, I
 thynke agayne also that ther ys nother so much respect
 of tyme nother of place to be had, as many men juge,
 wych thynke the hyst poynt of wysdome to stond 803
 therin ; *and* so naroly *and* so curiously they pondur the
 tyme *and* the place, that in al theyr lyfys they nother
 fynd tyme nor place. They loke, I trow, for Plato's

L. says there is
 some truth in
 this,

but some men
 consider time
 and place so long,

that they never
 do anything,

¹ MS. le.

and so have
allowed their
country to
perish.

807 *commyn* wele, in such expectatyon they spend theyr
lyfe, as they thynke wyth grete polytyke wysdome, but
in dede wyth grete frantyke foly. For of thys I am
sure, that suche exacte consydering of tyme hathe
causyd many *commyn* welys vturly to perysch; hyt
hath causyd in many placys much tyranny, wych myght

[* Page 54.]

It is certain that
now is our time,
while we have so
noble a Prince,

813 haue byn amendyd, yf wyse men, in tyme *and* in place,
wold haue bent themselfe to that purpos, leuyng such
fon respecte of tyme and of place. But, *Master Pole*,
what so euer regard be of wyse men * to be had other
of tyme or of place, thys to vs ys certayn, that now, in
our tyme, when we haue so nobul a prynce, whome we
are sure no thyng to haue so pryntyd in hys brest as

820 the cure of hys *commyn* wele, both day *and* nyght
remembryng the same, we schold haue no such respecte.
For thys I dare affyrme, ther was neuer prynce reynyng
in thys realme wych had more feruent loue to the

824 welth of hys subectys then hath he; ther was neuer
kyng in any cuntrey wych bare grettur zele to the
admynystratyon of justyce *and* setting forth of equyte
and ryght then dothe he; aftur he ys therof informyd
and surely instructe by hys wyse conseyllys *and*

829 polytyke men. Therfor, as I sayd, lyke as ther ys some
respecte to be had of tyme for the abstenyng from the
intrety of materys of the *commyn* wele, so ther ys much
more of takyng the tyme when hyt ys, and takyng
occasyon when hyt offryth hyt selfe. Wherfor, *Master*

and it is our duty
to embrace it,

834 *Pole*, as you now see, chefely to be regardyd as the end
of al mannys studys *and* carys, the welth of the *com-*
mynalty, so now also vse your tyme, vnder so nobul a
prynce, to the mayntenance *and* setting forward of the
same. Let not occasyon slyppe; suffur not your tyme
vaynly to pas, wych, wythout recouery, fleth away; for

or it may be
lost for ever.

840 as they say, occasyon *and* tyme wyl neuer be restoryd
agayne. Therfor, as I haue sayd to you before, wythout
any mo steppys, bend your selfe to that to the wych

you are borne; loke to that wych, aboue al, ys your 843
offyce *and* duty.

12. **Pole.**—*Master Lvpset*, you haue bounde me now; P. says he cannot deny this,
I haue no refuge fether to fle. Wherfor, I promys
you I schal neuer *pretermyt* occasyon nor tyme of
helpyng *my cuntrey, but euer, as they offer them- [* Page 55.]
selfe, I schalbe redy to my powar euer to apply *and* 849
indeur myselfe to the mayntennance *and* settyng for-
ward of the true *commyn* wele. And now, bycause, as
you ryght wel *and* truly haue sayd, we haue so nobul
a prynce, wych, when he knowyth the best, he sted-
fastely wyl folow hyt, euer desyrouse of hys *commyn* 854
wele; that I may be in the mater more rype when so
euer occasyon schal requyre, I schal now at thys leser,
and here, in thys solytary place, some thyng wyth
you, *Master Lvpset*, deuyse, touchyng the ordur of our
cuntrey *and* *commyn* wel, to the wych purpos also, me 859
semyth, the tyme exhortyth vs, seyng that now our
most nobul prynce hath assemblyd hys *parlyament and*
most wyse conseyll, for the reformatyon of thys hys
commyn wele.

and he will talk over the matter at once.

13. **Lvpset.**—Mary, Syr, thys purpos ys maruelus 864
gud, *and* veray mete *and* comenyent for the tyme;
and glad I am that I put you in remembrance herof. L. is glad of this.
Therfor I pray you now exerceyse your selfe therin,
that you may be more redy to schow your mynd openly
and in such place where as I trust heraftur hyt schal 869
bryng forth some frute.

14. **Pole.**—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, yf you lyke hyt wel, P. proposes to discuss, first,
aftur thys maner we schal deuyse, bycause euery man
spekyth so much of the *commyn* wele, *and* many more,
I fere me, dow know hyt in dede. *And* for bycause the 874
commyn wele ys the end of al *parlyamentys and*
commyn conseylls, fyrst therfor, (to kepe a certayn
processe with ordur) we wyl serche out, as nere as we
can, what ys the veray *and* * true *commyn* wele, wherin [* Page 56.]

what is the true
commonwealth :

[hyt] stondyth, *and* when hyt most floryschyth, that
we may, hauyng thys playnly set before our yes, al

881 our conseyllys to thys poynt euer resolute *and* referre.

second, to search
out its disorders :

Second, we wyl serch out therby the dekey of our
commyn wele, wyth al the commyn faultys *and* mys-
ordurys of the same. Thyrdly, we wyl deuyse of the
cause of thys same dekey, *and* of the remedy *and* mean

third, to consider
the remedies.

886 to restore the commyn wele agayne. And thys schalbe
the processe of our communycatyon.

L. agrees with
this,

but bids Pole
to beware of
imitating Plato's
example,
whose common-
wealth no mortal
can follow.

15. *Lvpset*.¹—Syr, thys processe lykyth me wel ;
but here of one thyng, I pray you, take hede, that in
thys your deuyse of your communycatyon you folow
not the exampl of Plato, whose ordur of commyn wele
no pepul apon erth to thys daye coud euer yet attayn.
Wherfor hyt ys reputyd of many men but as a dreame

894 *and* vayne inygynatyon, wych neuer can be brought
to effect ; *and* of some other hyt ys comparyd to the
Stoyke phylosophar, who neuer apperyd yet to the
lyght, such vertue *and* wysdome ys attrbytyd to hym,
that in no mortal man hyt can be found. Therfor loke
899 you to the nature of oure cuntrey, to the maner of our
pepul, not wythout respect both of tyme *and* of place,
that your deuyse hereaftur, by the helpe of our most
nobul prynce, may the sonar optayne hys frute *and*
effect.

This Pole
promises.

16. *Pole*.—Master *Lvpset*, you admonysch me ryght
wel, *and* accordyng as you say, as nere as I can, so schal
906 I dow ; but now, Master *Lvpset*, bycause hyt ys late
and tyme to suppe, we wyl dyffer the begynnyng of
our communycatyon tyl to morow in the mornynge.

17. *Lvpset*.—Master Sir, you say veray wel ; for
me semyth thys ys a mater mete for the mornynge,
911 when our wyttys be most redy *and* fresch.

¹ MS. Le.

[CHAPTER II.]

1. * [*Pole.*].—Seying that we be now here mete, [* Page 57.]
Master Lupset, accordyng to our promys, to deuyse of
 a mater, as you know, of grete dyffyculty *and* harduos,
 I requyre you most tendurly to be dylygent *and* attent, 4
and frely also to schow your mynd therin, that where as
 my resonys schal appere to you sklender *and* weke, wyth
 your dylygence you may them supply ; *and* cesse not to
 dowte as you haue occasyonys—for dowtyng, you know, P. asks Lupset
 bryngyth the truth to lyght. And though hyt be so to express his
 that the mater be hard *and* requyryth grete labour to doubts on any
 the enserchyng of the truthe conteynyd in the same, 11 matter,
 yet the grete frute *and* profyte wych may ryse *and* for doubting
 yssue of the same may somewhat encorage vs *and* gyue brings the truth
 vs stomake. For thys I juge to be of sure truth, that yf to light.
 men knew certainly what ys the true commyn wele, If men knew
 they wold not so lytyl regard hyt as the[y] dow ; they what is the true
 wold not so neclete hyt *and* despyse hyt as commynly commonwealth,
 they dow. For now as euery man spekyth of hyt *and* they would not
 hath hyt oft in hys mouth, so few ther be that extyme so often neglect
 19 hyt *and* haue hyt fxyd in theyr hartys ; wych playnly it.
 commyth as (aftur the mynd of the most wyse phy-
 losophar Socrates) al other yl dothe, of vayn, false, *and*
 corrupt opynyon ; for no man wyttyngly *and* wylling
 wyl dow hymselfe hurte. Wherfor yf men knew that, 24
 so lytyl regardyng the commyn wele, * they dow them [* Page 58.]
 selfe therwyth also hurt, surely they wold mor extyme
 hyt then they dow, wych thyng I trust to make
 euydently to be seen herafter.

2. *Lupset*.¹—Syr, thys thyng of Socrates semyth L. doubts
 to me somewhat straunge, to say that al spryngyth whether this
 of ignorance, as of the ground of al vyce. Therfor, arises from
 ignorance.

¹ MS. Le.

- 32 befor that we passe any ferther, let vs a lytyl examyn
 thys, for as much as you seme to take hyt as a sure
 ground. *Communely* hyt ys sayd, *and* me semyth
 euery man felyth hyt in hym selfe, that thos wych
 be yl know they dow nought; *and* yet, by plesure
 37 ouercome, the[y] folow the same, contrary to theyr owne
 conseyence *and* knolege. Euery man knowyth, as hyt
 apperyth to me, they schold folow vertue, *and* yet you
 see how they folow the contrary; euery man knowyth,
 as I thynke, they schold aboue al regard the commyn
 42 welth, *and* yet euery man sekyth hys owne profyt.
 Wherfor hyt apperyth to me we schold attrIBUTE al
 fautys, al vyce, rather to malyce then to ignorance.
 Besyde thys, how schal we defend the lyberty of our
 wyl, yf we be thys lade[n] wyth ignorance? Frewyl can
 47 not be wythout knolege, both of the gud *and* of the yl.
 Wherfor me semyth the ground of your communycatyon
 stondyth in dowte.

Men know they
 should follow
 virtue,
 yet they follow
 vice.

Faults should be
 attributed to
 malice rather
 than to ignorance.

3. *Pole*.—Wel, Master Lvpset, thys thyng wych
 you now bryng in questyon, mouyd of the begynnyng of
 52 our communycatyonys, semyth to be a controuersy not
 only betwyx the commyn sort *and* lernyd, but also
 betwyx Arystotyl¹ *and* Plato, the chefe phylosopharys.
 How be hyt, betwyx them I thynke thys dyscord that
 apperyth ys but in wordys only, *and* no thyng in dede,
 as hyt ys in many thyngys mo, wherin they seme
 58 gretely to dyssent; for the declaratyon wherof, now in
 thys purpos * you schal vnderstond, that aftur the
 sentence of Arystotyl, the mynd of man fyrst of hyt
 selfe ys as a clene *and* pure tabul, wherin ys no thyng
 payntyd or carvyd, but of hyt selfe apt *and* indyfferent
 63 to receyue al maner of pycturys *and* image. So mannys
 mynd hath fyrst no knolege of truth, nor fyrst hath no
 maner of wyl wherby hyt ys more drawne to gud then
 to yl; but aftur, as opynyon and sure persuasyon of gud

This seems to be
 a controuersy
 between
 Aristotle and
 Plato,

but it is one of
 words only.

[* Page 59.]

Man's mind at
 first is a clean
 tablet,

¹ MS. arystotytl

and of yl growyth in by experyence *and* lernyng, so which receives impressions afterwards.

euer the wyl conformyth *and* framyth hymselfe to the knolege before gotten, in so much that yf hyt be persuadyd that gud ys yl, *and* yl gud, then euer the wyl chesyth the yl, *and* leuyth the gud, accordyng as sche, by opynyon, ys instructyd. And yf the opynyon be strong, *and* confyrmyd wyth ryght reson, *and* wyth ryght jugement, then sche folowyth euer that wych ys gud; lyke as, contrary, when the opynyon ys waueryng *and* not groundly set, then sche, ouercome *and* blyndyd

If the opinion be strong, it follows the good:

75

if weak the ill.

by plesure, or some other inordynat affecte, folowyth the yl; so that other out of sure *and* certayn knolege, or lyght *and* waueryng opynyon, al the inclynatyon of wyl takyth hys rote, wych euer ys framyd accordyng to the knolege. Wherfor Socrates euer was wont to say, yf the mynd of man were instructe * wyth sure knolege *and* stabul opynyon, hyt schold neuer erre nor declyne from the streyght lyne of vertuose lyuyng; but when ther was therin no thyng but waueryng opynyons, wych wyth euery lyght contrary persuasyon wold vanysch away, then the mynd schold be lyghtly ouercome *and* shortly blyndyd wyth the vayne colour of truth. Thys waueryng opynyon in mannys mynd, *and* thys blyndenes wyth inordynate affectys, he callyd in dede ignorance, the wych he euer notyd to be the fountayn of al yl *and* vycyouse affect reynyng in mannys mynd. Arystotyl, more conformyng hymselfe to the commune jugement of man, sayd that they wych had thys opynyon of gud, be hyt neuer so lyght, waueryng, *and* vnstabul, yet some knolege hyt left in mannys mynd, by the reson wherof, aftur the commyn opynyon of euery man, yehone in hym selfe, when he doth nough[t], felyth a gruge in conseyence *and* repugnance in mynd. Wherfor he says that they wych be yl haue knolege therof *and* yet folow the same. But Plato callyth that same waueryng knolege, *and* lyght per-

[* Page 60.] Socrates says virtue depends on instruction.

85

Aristotle says they who have this opinion of good feel a "grudge" in conscience when they do wrong.

98

Plato calls wavering knowledge ignorance.

- 103 suasyon, certayn blyndnes *and* playn ignorance, inso-
much as hyt ys but vayne *and* lyght opynyon, *and* sone
corrupt wyth the contrary persuasyon of yl. So that in
the thyng ther ys no controuersy betwyx them, but
only in wordys, for bycause that thyng wych one
108 callyth lyght knolege, *and* but a waueryng opynyon,
the other callyth ignorance, speecially when hyt ys
ouercome wyth the contrary persuasyon, as hyt ys in al
them wych know the gud *and* folow the yl. *They
haue repugnance *and* dyuersyte of opynyons, but the
113 one ouercumyth the other, *and* that wych ouercommyth
euer he folowyth. But yf man had certayn *and* sure
knolege of the gud, he wold neuer leue hyt *and* folow
the yl. For, as Arystotyl sayth, theyr knolege wych be
incontynent *and* gyuen to vyce ys blyndyd for the
118 tyme wyth some inordynate affecte, wherwyth they be,
as hyt were, drunken aftur such sorte that they con-
sydur not what ys gud or what ys yl; but, as hyt were,
by the vayn schadow therof, they are deceyuyd, and yet,
thys notwythstondyng, they haue frewyl *and* lyberty
123 therof; for as muche as they be not of necessity by
thys persuasyon compellyd nor drawn to folow the
same. For albehyt the wyl of man euer commynly
folowyth that to the wych opynyon of perseuyng the
gud or voydyng of the yl ledyth hyt, yet hyt ys not of
128 any necessity, but man, dryuen nother to one nor to
the other, may, other by dylygence resyst that same
of hymselfe, or by conseyll of other ouercomme hyt also;
and therin restyth the lyberty of mynd. How be
hyt, thys ys of trothe, yf the reson *and* wyl be cus-
tummably blyndyd wyth any persuasyon, hard hyt ys
134 to resyst therto, *and* wythout grete dylygence hyt wyl
not be; for the wych cause many men vturly take away
the lyberty of wyl, *and* say that euer hyt ys compellyd,
by strong opynyon, to folow thys or that, accordyng to
the persuasyon. But vndowtylly dylygent instructyon

[* Page 61.]

If man had sure
knowledge of
good,
he would never
leave it.

Man can perceive
the good
and avoid the ill,

but it is very
difficult;

and so some men
deny the liberty
of the will,

and wyse conseyl may at the lest in long tyme restore
the wyl out of such captyuyte, and * bryng hyt agayne
to the old¹ lyberty ; ye, and though hyt be so that so
long as hyt ys thys drownyd wyth affectys and blyndyd
wyth ignorance, hyt euer folowthe the blynd per-
suasyon, out of the wych, as I sayd, as out of a foun-
tayne, spryngyth al vyce, al myschefe, and yl ; yet by
dylygence hyt may be restoryd and brought to consydur
hys owne dygnyte. But plesure and profyt so blynd
reson, and so reyn ther, that hard hyt ys to pluke out
thys pestylent persuasyon, wych ys the cause of al
errorys in mannys lyfe. Thys ys the cause of the de-
structyon of al commyn welys, when euery man,
blyndyd other by plesure or profyte, consyduryth not
the perfectyon of man nor the excellency of hys owne
nature, but wyth ignorance blyndyd and by corrupt
jugement, leuyth the best and takyth the worst.
Wherfor we may wel say that thys ignorance, as
Socrates sayd oft, ys the fountayne of al yl, vyce, and
mysery, as wel in euery priuate mannys lyfe as in
euery commynalty.

but add, that
instruction may
[* Page 62.]
bring it out of
captivity, and,
however degraded
by ignorance, it
may be brought
to consider its
own dignity.

145

149

154

We must
conclude that
ignorance is the
cause of all vice.

4. **Lvpset.**—Why, but, I pray you, here a lytyl take
hede ; for then yf hyt be thus that ignorance, as you
say, ys the cause of al yl, men are not so much to be
blamyd as commynly they be ; for the[y] dow as they
know, and yf they knew the bettur, they wold also
gladly folow the same, and then, as hyt apperyth, they
be vniustely punnysechyd in al pollyceys.

L. answers,
if this is so,
men are not so
much to be
blamed.

165

5. **Pole.**—Nay, *Master Lvpset*, not so. Such ignor-
ance excusyth not errorys in mannys lyfe, nor makyth
hym not to be wythout faut ; but, *contrary*, makyth hym
more worthy of punnyschement and blame, accordyng
to our commune proverbe, “he that kyllyth a man dronk,
sobur schalbe hangyd ;” in so much as he hym selfe of
thys ignora[n]ce ys the cause, by hys owne neelygence.

P. denies this :

170

“He that kills a
man drunk,
sober shall be
hanged :”

¹ MS. wold.

174 For yf he wold other here counseyl of wyse *and* prudent
men, or suffur not by neelygence the sedys of nature
plantyd in hys mynd to be oppressyd wyth vayn opyn-
yon, he schold not be so led by ignorance *and* folly, *and*

178 schold not be so drownyd in affectys *and* mysery.

[* Page 63.]

Ignorance cannot
excuse a man.

Wherfor, seyng that he suffryth *hyt, so hys faut
ys grettur; he ys more to be blamyd, nor in no case,
by thys ignorance, may iustely be excusyd.

182 6. *Lvpset*.—Wel, then, let vs now, I pray you, re-
torne to our purpos, that we may the bettur (*and* ether¹
also, avoyd thys ignorance,—the fountayn of al yl)
serch out what ys the true commyn wele. For, in dede,
I thynke thys now to be truth, that yf men knew what

I. asks to return
to their purpose :

what is the true
commonweal.

187 hyt were, they wold not so lytyl regard hyt as they
dow, they wold not so hyly extyme theyr owne pryuate
plesure *and* wele.

7. *Pole*.—Thys thyng ys, *and* ener hath byn, ye,
and I dare boldly affyrme euer schalbe, the destructyon
192 of al true commyn welys, *and* so, consequently, the de-
structyon also of them wych so blyndly extyme so much
theyr owne profyte *and* plesure, as we schal see more
playnly heraftur. But now to our purpos. Aftur the
mynd of the antyent *and* most wyse phylosophar Arys-
totyl, in the veray same thyng wherin stondyth the
welthe *and* prosperouse state of euery partycular man
by hym selfe, restyth also euery cyte or cuntrey, the
veray *and* true commyn welth; the wych thyng ys to al
201 men by commyn reson euydent, for as much as the
welth *and* substance ener of the hole rysyth of the welth
of euery partycular parte. Wherfor, yf we can fyrst
fynd out that thyng wych ys the welth of euery par-
tycular man, we schal then consequently fynd out also
206 what thyng hyt ys that in any cyty or cuntrey we cal
the veray true commyn wele. *And* thys let vs take as
a ground to the rest of our communycatyon.

P. says that the
prosperity of the
individual
and of the
commonwealth
rest in the same
thing.

What is this
thing?

¹ MS. other.

8. *Lvpset*.—Mary, Syr, but herin, me semyth, lyth a dowte ; for yf hyt be thus, that the *commyn* wele ryse of the *partycular* wele of euery one, then euery man ought to study to maynteyne* the *partycular* wele, to the setting forward of the *commyn*. And so that thyng wych you notyd before to be the destructyon of euery *commyn* wel, now by thys reson *and* ground schold maynteyn the same.

L. If the common good come from the individual good,

[* Page 64.]
every man should strive to advance the individual good.

215

9. *Pole*.—Nay, *Master Lvpset*, not so ; for thes ij thyngys agre veray wel. Ouermuch regard of pryuat *and* *partycular* wele euer destroyth the *commyn*, as mean *and* conuenyent regard therof maynteynyth the

220

same. For thys ys troth, as hyt ys *commynly* sayd, yf euery man wold mend one, yf euery man wold cure one, as he schold dow, we schold haue a veray true *commyn* wele. But now, were as many, blyndyd wyth the loue of themselfe, regard theyr *partycular* wele ouermuch,

P. says if every man would cure one,

we should have a true commonwealth.

225

hyt ys necessary by polytyke personys, hauyng regard of the *commyn* wele, to correct *and* amend such blyndnes *and* ouersyght growne in to many mennys myndys by the inordynate loue of themselfe ; lyke as physycyonys now be necessary in cytes *and* townys, seing

230

that men *commynly* gyue themselfe to such inordynat dyat, wheras, yf men wold gouerne themselfe soburly by temperat dyat, then physycyonys were not to be requyryd of necessity in no *commyn* welth nor pollycy.

If men were temperate, physicians would not be needed.

235

And so, I say, yf euery man wold gouerne on wel, nothyng blyndyd *with* the loue of hymselfe, you schold then see a true *commyn* wele. And thys hyt ys true, that euen lyke as ouermuch regard of *partycular* wele destroyth the *commyn*, so conuenyent *and* mean regard therof maynteynyth *and* setting forward the same ; *and*

240

in thys ther ys no controuersye. Therfor let vs now, as we began, turne *agayne to seke out thys *partycular* wele of euery priuate man, that we may, as I sayd, therby come to our purpos. And for because

[* Page 65.]

Three things are
needful to the
individual good.

1. Health of
body :

for if a man be
troubled with
sickness he
would rather die
than live.

He is unprofitable
to all men,
and excluded
from the
exercise of all
virtue.

[* Page 66.]

To health must
be added
strength and
beauty.

- 245 many thyngys ther be wych are requyryd to the wele of
euery man, wych sondurly to reherse were ouerlong *and*
no thyng necessary, therfor iij thyngys general I note
now to be spoken of, by the wych hyt schal be esy to
vnderstond the rest :—And fyrst of them ys helthe of
body, wych I note to be as foundatyon *and* ground of a
251 grete parte of the wele of man ; for as much as yf hyt
were so that man had neuer so grete abundance of al
ryches *and* wordly substance ; neuer so grete nombur
of gud *and* faythful frendys ; neuer so grete dygnyte
and authoryte in hys cuntrey ; yet, yf he lake helth, al
256 thos thyngys to hym lytyl dow profyt, of them he
takyth lytyl plesure, no thyng erthly to hym wythout
helth can be plesaunt or delectabul. For yf he be
trowblyd wyth any greuous sykenes, hys lyfe then to
hym ys nother swete nor plesaunt, he rather then wold
261 desyre to dye then to lyue ; so trowblus he ys bothe to
hym selfe *and* to hys frendys. He lyth then vnprofytabul
to hys cuntrey, *and* can to no man dow gud, for he
ys therby excludyd also from the vse *and* vtward exer-
cyse almost of al vertue, by the wych hyt ys commuynyd
266 to the profyt of other. And thought hyt be so that man
by sykenes *and* bodyly infirmyte be not vttruly ex-
cludyd from hys gud purposys *and* vertues intentys,
wyche God, that only lokyth in to the hartys of man,
no les extymyth then the vtward dedys, yet the vt-
*ward dedys *and* exercyse of vertue undowtydly makyth
hyt more commendabul, plesaunt, *and* profytabul, both
to hymselfe *and* to the world ; *and*, at the lest, no les
plesaunt to God, whose gudnes man doth folow, when
as much [as] he can by vtward dedys he commuynyth hys
vertue to the profyt of other. Wherfor hyt apperyth
277 that we may justely affyrme bodyly helth to be the
ground *and* foundatyon of the wele of man, to the
wych also must be couplyd, of necessity, strength *and*
beuty. For yf a man for the tyme haue neuer so gud

helth, yet yf he haue not strength to maynteyne the same, hyt wyl sone vanysch away, leuyng thys ground weke *and* vnstabul; therfor strength must be joynyd, *and* beuty also. For yf the body haue neuer so gud helth, *and* conuenyent powar *and* strength for the 285 mayntenance of the same, yet yf hyt be deformyd, yf the partys be not proporey[o]nabul, one agreyng to another, accordyng to the ordur of nature, they be not so acceptabul nor plesaunt, nor the body hath not hys perfayt state *and* vertue. Also, aftur the sentence of the 290 most wyse poete, yn a gudly body ys more [that ys] commendabul, plesant, *and* acceptabul. Wherfor, to the perfayt state of the body, *and* veray wele therof, they must run al iij joyntely togydur—both helth, strength, *and* beuty, to the wych al other vertues of the body, as to the pryncypallys *and* chefe, lyghtly ensue. And so in thes bodyly vertues *and* natural 297 powarys, stondyth the fyrst poynt requyryd to the wele of euery partycular man, aftur my mynd, except *you hane any thyng to say contrary to thys.

For if a man have health but no strength to maintain it, it will soon be lost.

gratior est pulchro, &c.¹

In these three the perfect state of the body consists.

[* Page 67.]

10. **Lvpset.**—No, Sir, I wyl not interrupt your communycatyon now in the myddys, but when you hane brought hyt to an end, I wyl then frely *and* playnly 303 schow my mynd.

L. says,
I won't interrupt you now.

11. **Pole.**—Wel, then, let vs go forward. The second poynt that mannys wele restyth in, ys ryches *and* conuenyent abundaunce of al wordly thyngys, mete to the mayntennance of euery mannys state, accordyng 308 to hys degre. Thys ys to euery man manyfest *and* playn; for in case be that man haue a body neuer so helthy, beutyful, *and* strong, yet yf he lake such thyngys as necessarily be requyryd to the mayntenance of hys state *and* degre, he schal be trowblyd in mynd wyth infynyte carys *and* myserabul thoughtys; bycause he seth wel that, wythout them, thys bodyly wele wyl sone vade 315

The 2nd point of man's good rests in his riches.

If he have not these he shall suffer many cares.

¹ In margin of MS.

Children and
friends are also
necessary.

- 316 and vanysch away. Besyd thys, yf a man haue neuer so grete ryches *and* abundaunce of tresore, yet yf he lake chylður *and* frendys in whome he may delyte, by comunyng therof, they lytyl avayle, *and* be to hym nother plesant nor swete; wherfor, they be also requyryd to
- 321 thys. And though hyt be so that superfluouse ryches *and* ouergrete abundance of thes wordly goodys be not requyryd necessarily to the wele of man, but rather be the destructyon therof, yet hyt ys manifest that the lake of necessarys, for nuryschyng *and* clothyng of the body, ys the sure *and* certayn cause of infynyte myserys *and* manyfold wrechydnes. *Lyke as the conuenient abundaunce of the same, yf they be wel vsyd, ys the occasyon of puttyng in exercyse many honest *and* vertuse affectys of mannys mynd, wych els schold be coueryd *and* clokyd *and* neuer come to lyght, but stoppyd *and* let by penury *and* pouerty, non other wyse
- 333 then they be by bodyly syknes *and* infyrmyte. Therfor we may now of thys ryght wel perceyue, that thes exteryor *and* wordly thyngys in conuenient abundaunce are not wythout cause, in the second place, requyryd to the wele of enery partycular man, as such thyngys
- 338 wythout whome no man can haue hys most prosperouse state.

The third and most important, though least regarded, point is the natural honesty and virtue of the mind.

A man with health and riches is counted happy, though he never dream of virtue.

- (11.) The thryd poynt now remeynyth, wych al be hyt of hyt selfe hyt ys most pryncypal *and* chefe, as to the wych they other are to be referryd, yet hyt ys lest regardyd *and* lest had in mynd. That ys, the natural honesty *and* vertue of the mynd. For comunly hyt ys seen that yf a man haue helth *and* ryches, [he] ys then of al men jugyd happy *and* fortunate, lykyng no welth, though he neuer dreame of vertue; so lytyl count ys had therof. How be hyt, the troth ys thys, that lyke as the
- 349 soule fer passyth *and* excellyth the body, ye, *and* al other wordly thyngys, so doth they vertues of the mynd, in the same ordur *and* degre, passe *and* excelle al

vertues *and* powarys of ther body, *and* al other ryches
 and wordly tresore, as thos thyngys wych be chiefly
and aboue al other to be extymyd *and* regardyd. *And*
 thought hyt be so that man, by corrupt iugement, con-
 trary extyme them, *and* wythout the other regard them
 not at al, yet they, of theyr owne nature, are no les to
 be extymyd, *no les to be regardyd; wych ys to al them
 euydent *and* playn wych be not yet blyndyd wyth in-
 ordynat affectys, *and* haue not lost the ryght iugement
 of thyngys, wych ys the cause of al errorys *and* mys-
 chefys that commynly happunnyth in mannys lyfe. For
 what awaylyth to haue helth, beuty, *and* strength of
 body, to hym wych can not vse them to the end by
 nature *and* reson appoyntyd? What awaylyth hyt to
 haue ryches, tresore, *and* al wordly abundance, to hym
 wych can not by wysdome vse them to hys owne welth
and to the profyt of other? Wythout fayle, no thyng. 368
 We see dayly in commyn experyence (we nede not to
 seke for reson or exampul to proue *and* confyrme hyt)
 that ryches, authoryte, *and* wordly abundaunce, to them
 whych can not vse them, be playn destructyon. Where-
 fore they, of themselfys, be not to be extymyd but in
 ordur to vertue. Helth ys not to be extymyd to thys in-
 tent, that therby wyth more lyberty *and* plesure you
 may haue the vse of al vayn joys *and* past-tymys
 wordly; but to thys end *and* purpos only, that by your
 helth of body you may more conueniently vse al honest
and vertuese exercyse of the mynd, both to the com-
 modyte of yourselfe *and* also of your frendys *and* coun-
 trey. Aftur thys maner helth ys to be extymyd as the
 ground *and* fundatyon, accordyng, as I sayd befor, of
 the wele *and* prosperouse state of euery man. Lykewyse, 383
 ryches *and* wordly abundance ys not to be regardyd to
 thys intent, that man therby may haue *the vse of vayn
and transytory plesures, but only to thys purpos, that
 by them he may fyrst satysfy hys owne necessitye, *and*

But the truth is,
 the virtues of the
 mind excel all
 virtues and
 powers of the
 body as much as
 the soul surpasses
 the body.

357

[* Page 69.]

361

Of what avail
 are health,
 beauty,
 strength,
 riches,
 to a man who
 cannot use them?

368

Riches to those
 who cannot use
 them are
 destruction.

374

Health is to be
 studied for the
 mind's sake,
 and for the good
 of your friends
 and your
 country.

383

Riches and
 abundance are to
 [* Page 70.]
 satisfy bodily
 wants,

and to help the
needy and such
as are in misery.

so aftur succur *and* helpe them wych haue nede *and* be
in mysery. Aftur thys maner also they are to be extymyd,
euer referryng them to vertue as to theyr end *and* pur-
pos wy they are to be desyryd, *and* as the chefe poynt

392 of the felycyte, wele, *and* prosperouse state of man,
wythout the wych they other no thyng avayle, other be
the destructyon of man. For vertue only hyt ys that

Virtue alone can
show the right
use of health and
riches.

schowyth vs the ryght vse *and* streght, both of helth,
strength, *and* beuty, of ryches, *and* of al other wordly
397 abundaunce ; and transytory vertue hyt ys that techyth
vs al honest behauyour bothe toward God *and* man. As,
by exampul, relygyously to honower *and* worschype God,
as Maker, Gouvernor, *and* Rular of thys word, *and* bro-
therly to loue euery man iche other, wyth al ryghtwyse
and just delying togyddur.

403 (11.) Wherfor hyt can not be dowtyd, yf we wyl
extyme thyngys in ryght ordur *and* degre, but that
vertue ys the chefe poynt of al thes thre. For yf hyt
were so that a man had most prosperouse state of body,
wyth helth, strength, *and* beuty ; ye, *and* yf he had
also al abundaunce of wordly godys *and* ryches, yet
yf he had not also the streyght *and* ryght vse of the
same, he schal not only take of them no profyt nor
frute, but he schal also haue nother plesure nor comfort
therby ; but rather hurt, dammage, *and* vtur destruc-

Virtue is the
chief point of all,
and nothing can
avail without it.

If a man have
it not he is
without pleasure
and comfort,
and receives only
hurt and
destruction.

413 tyon. *And* thos thyngys wych of themselfe *and* of theyr
owne nature be gud, schalbe to hym, for lake of gud
vse, noyful *and* yl. And lykewyse, yf a man had al
the ryches *and* powar of the world, wyth al other pros-
peryte therof, yet, yf hys mynd were not ryghtly set
wyth relygyouse *honour toward God, *and* wyth honest
and just behauyour toward man, al that schold no
thyng avayle, no thyng profyte. So that thys ys now

Riches without
religion and
honour towards
God and man
[* Page 71.]
cannot profit.

421 certayn, that they ij fyrst poyntys, wythout thys thryd
couplyd therto, rather hyndur *and* hurt, then ayd *and*
set forth, the wele *and* prosperouse state of euery priuate

man ; but when they al be joynyd togyddur,—helth, strength, *and* beuty of body ; ryches *and* abundaunce of such wordly godys as be necessary to the mayntenance of the state of man ; vertue of the mynd schowyng the streygh[t] vse of the same ; wyth al honest *and* dew behauyour bothe toward God *and* man,—then surely that man, who so euer he be, hath hye welth *and* most prosperouse state *and* felycyte, comuenient to the nature of man *and* to hys dygnyte. And so thus, *Master Lvpset*, now I thynke you se wherin stondyth the wele of euery partycular man ; out of the wych we must now seke out *and* enserch the veray true commyn wele, seyng that we haue therby thus found the best mean, *and*, as hyt apperyth to me, the ryghtyst way therto.

12. *Lvpset*.¹—Syr, you say wel. How be hyt, bycause thys ys the ground, as me semyth, of the rest of our communycatyon, I wyl not let hyt pas vnsure, for as much as hyt apperyth yet to me some thyng strange. For yf hyt be thus as you conclude, that the wele *and* felycyte of euery partycular man restyth in thos iij poyntys, wych you haue declaryd couplyd togyddur, then few ther be that haue wele, few wych be in prosperouse state *and* felycyte ; the most parte of mankynd ys excludyd from hyt. For by thys reson, yf a man be fallen *in to any grete sykenes or febulnes of body, or by any iniury of fortune be cast in to grete pouerty ; or yf hys chyldur or frendys haue any myschaunce, then—be he neuer so vertuse, honest, *and* gnd ; be he as perfayt as euer was Sayn Poule—yet he ys not in wele nor in prosperouse state *and* felycyte ; wych ys contrary to the opynyon of many gret wyse men, wych euer haue gyuen thys powar to vertue, that hyt doth not only kepe man from mysery, but hyt doth also set hym in hye felycyte. In so much that yf man were fallen in to neuer so grete syknes or pouerty, or otherwyse trowblyd by the stormys

The man who has health, strength, and beauty of body, riches and abundance, and all due behaviour to God and man, is in a most prosperous state.

L. says, You say well,

but it seems strange. If the weal of every man consists in these three points,

then but few have it.

[* Page 72.]

It is contrary to the opinion of many wise men, who have held that virtue keeps a man from misery and makes him happy ;

¹ MS. Lc.

459 of fortune in aduersyte, wych by no wysdome he can
avoyd ; yet, so long as he patyently suffryth them *and*
contentyth hys mynd wyth hys present state, euer com-
fortyng hymselfe wyth vertuse purposys ; so long, I say,

463 hyt can not be denyd but that he ys in wele *and* fely-

and to this agrees
the doctrine of
Christ.

cyte. To thys, me semyth, agreth al the doctryne of our
Master Chryst, wych callyth them blessyd wych be euer
in wordly aduersyte, patyently suffrynge¹ hyt for Hys
sake ; *and*, contrary, thos wych be in wordly prosperyte,

468 he notyth to be myserabul *and* wrechyd. Of thys al
Scrypture ys ful. Hyt nedyth not to bryng in any par-
tycular place for the testimony therof, seying that al
sownyth therto. Al Chrystys dyseypullys *and* apostyllys

were sympul *and* pore, hauyng no wordly prosperyte ;
473 *and* yet I thynke you wyl not say that they were in

[* Page 73.]

Wherefore these
three points are
not required.

*mysery, but, contrary, that they were in hye felycyte.

Werfor hyt apperyth that your iij poyntys couplyd to-
gyddur are not requyrd of necessyte to the wele of
euery partycular man ; specyally consyderyng that, by

478 that mean, the most parte of mankynd schold be ex-
cludyd from theyr wele *and* felycyte, wych can not at-
tayne to wordly ryches *and* hye phylosophy.

P. owns these
"knots" are to
the purpose,
and require
examination.

13. **Pole.**—Wel, Master Lypset, you euer bryng in
some regyd knottys in communycatyon. But yet by-
cause they be somewhat to our purpos, we schal not let
them slype vtturly vnexamynynd. And, fyrst, you schal

485 vnderstond, for the ground of your dowte, that we may
perceyue wherof hyt sprange, that, accordyng to the
dyuersyte of opynyons wych men haue had of the
nature of man, so varyabul sentence were taken of

Some have said
the *soul* is man :

hys felycyte *and* wele. Some sayd that man was
no thyng els but hys resonabul soule, for as much as

491 that ys the thyng wherby man ys man, *and* not a
brute best ; *and* that the body ys no thyng but as an
instrument or vessel of the same. To whome hyt was

¹ MS. fuffrynge.

conuenient to say that so long man hathe hys hye 494
 felycyte *and* wele as the soule was instructe wyth
 such vertues as be accordyng to hyr dygnyte; notwyth-
 standyng that the body were trowblyd wyth syknes,
 pouerty, *and* al other callyd wordly aduersyty, wych no
 thyng touchyd the nature of the soule; *and* so by theyr 499
 opynyon vertue had euer couplyd wyth hyr hye *fely-
 cyte. Other ther were, more agreyng to the commyn
 reson of man, wych sayd that man ys not only the soule,
 in so much that he ys made of hyt, but as one chefe
and prynceypal parte, but a certayn nature wych rysyth 504
 of the vnyon *and* coniunetyon of the body *and* soule
 togyddur. Wherfor to them hyt was conuenient to say
 that the wele of man restyth, not only in the mynd *and*
 the vertues therof, but in the body also, *and* in the pros-
 perouse state of the same; wych, aftur myn opynyon, ys
 veray truth, yf we loke to the most perfayt state that
 man may haue. For though hyt be so that vertue euer 511
 defendyth mannys mynd from misery, *and* euer hath
 joynyd therto felycyte, yet, me semyth, hyt ys not in
 the most perfayt state, hyt ys not in the hiest degre,
 except therto be couplyd wordly prosperyte. For thys
 ys certayn, that the mynd of man then more floryschyth,
 more reiocyeth, *and* hath more wele, when frely, wyth-
 out any impedymment, other of body or iniury of fortune,
 hyt exerceysyth vertues actys, *and* spredyth hyr beamys
 to the lyght *and* comfort of many other. Wherfor,
 though vertus purpos *and* honest intent be suffeyent, 521
 not only to defend a man from misery, but also to con-
 serue *and* kepe hys mynd in felycyte; yet, aftur myn
 opynyon, for as much as the body ys one parte of man,
 *he hath neuer most hys felycyte nor most perfayt
 state in the hiest degre, except the body wyth the mynd
 florysch also wyth hys vertues *and* al thyngys neces-
 sary for the mayntenance of the same. *And* thys, I
 thynke to be of truth, that to the most prosperouse 529

[* Page 74.]

others, that soul
and body united
make man;

and this,
Pole thinks,
is true.

Felicity in the
highest degree
can only spring
from virtue and
worldly
prosperity :

because then man
is without any
impediment
either of body or
mind.

[* Page 75.]

Body and mind
must flourish
together.

530 state al thes thyngys joyntly are requyryd ; albehyt hyt

But it must not be denied that a man with perfect and sure hope may attain the felicity of the life to come though troubled with adversity here.

ys no thyng to be dowtyd but that man, stablyd *and* con-
fyrmyd wyth *perfayt and* sure hope, may ryght wel
attayne, in the lyfe to come, to the most hye felycyte,
thoughe he be here trowblyd wyth al wordly aduersyte,
wherof by foly *and* neelygence he hymselfe ys not the
cause ; but yf he patyently suffur hyt for the loue of

537 God, hyt ys as a mean to the attaynyng therof. And
lyke wyse wordly felycyte *and* prosperouse state in thys
lyfe present, excludyth not man from the most hye fely-
cyte of the lyfe to come, but rather, yf he vse hyt wel,

541 hyt ys also a mean wherby he the bettur may attayne
to the same. But forbycause wordly prosperyte ys so
ful of manyfold perylls *and* daungerys, by the wych a
neelygent mynd ys sone oppressyd, *and*, as hyt ys com-
mynly sayd, hard hyt ys to haue heuyn here *and* els-
were ; therfor few ther be, *and* few euer haue byn found,
wych wel to that end coude vse thys wordly prosperyte,
in so much that hyt ys of many wyse men jugyd much
harder to be wel to vse wordly prosperyte, then pa-
cyently to suffur *and* bere al wordly aduersyte. For the
wych cause * I thynke our Mastur Chryst chose, for the

It is difficult to have heaven here and elsewhere.

Some judge it to be harder to use prosperity well, than it is to bear alversity.

[* Page 76.]

552 most parte, hys dyseypullys of that sort wych were
tossyd in wordly aduersyte, *and* few of them wych in-
yoyd wordly prosperyte ; schowyng vs how hard hyt
was to vse that wel, *and* coupl therto hys celestyal
and heuynly doctryne. Therfor he sayth that nother they
wych haue theyr hartys fxyd in the lone of ryches of
thys world nother they wych haue theyr myndys

Christ said,
"How hardly
shall they that
have riches, &c.,"

559 downyd in the vayn plesurys of thys lyfe, may attayne
to the plesure *and* felycyte of the kyngdome of heuyn
and lyfe to come. But yet, as I sayd, he excludyth not
them wych euer bere theyr myndys vpryght in the
streyght vse of the same. *And*, forbycause the thyng ys
of so grete hardnes *and* dyffyculty, few you schal fynd

but He does not exclude such from the life to come.

565 in al Holy Scrypture, wych wel dyd vse thys wordly

prosperyte; for the wych purpos, as I thynke, many men 566
of gret wysedome *and* vertue flye from hyt, setting Some retire from
themselfe in relygyouse housys, ther quyetly to serue the world,
God *and* kepe theyr myndys vpryght wyth les jopardy.
Wych thyng surely ys not amys downe of them wych and it is not
perceyue theyr owne imbeecyllyte *and* wekenes, prone aniss of them;
and redy to be oppressyd *and* ouerthrowne, wyth thes 572
comune *and* quyat plesurys of the world, by whome
they see the most parte of mankynd drownyd *and* ouer-
comyn. How be hyt, me semyth, they dow lyke to fere- but they are
ful schypmen, wych, for drede of stormys *and* trowblus like sailors,
sees, kepe themselfe in the hauen, *and* dare not commyt who, for dread
themselfys to the daungerouse tempestys of the same. of storms,
But, lyke as he that, in *gret tempest *and* trowblus tyme, never leave the
gouernyth wel hys schype *and* comuehyth hyt at the haven.
last to the hauen *and* place appoyntyd of hys course, 581 [* Page 77.]
ys callyd a gud *and* experte maryner, *and* much more
prayse-worthy, then he wych for fere *and* dred kepyth
hymselfe in the hauen styl; so he wych in daungerouse
prosperyte, so ful of so many occasyonys of errorys *and* He who does his
downg amys, gouernyth hys mynd wel, *and* kepyth duty in all
hyt vpryght, ys justely to be callyd most perfayt *and* 587 perils, is a wise
man,
wyse man; ye, *and* much more deseruyth *and* of more
prayse ys worthy then he wych, for fere of the same
daungerys, runnyth in to a relygyouse house, ther as in
a hauyn quyetly to rest, wythout so much trowbul *and*
dysquyetnes. Thys I say, bycause you schal not thynke 592
that such as lyue in prosperous state of thys lyfe present
are therby excludyd from the felycyte of the lyfe to
come; but rather when prosperyte ys wel vsyd, hyt ys
a mean to set mannyys mynd in that state, wherby he 596
schal attayne hyar felycyte.

(13.) And so now to retorne to your dowte, Though a man
Master Lvpset, thus I say:—That though hyt be so in adversity may
that man, beyng here in thys lyfe present trowblyd attain heaven,
wyth al wordly aduersyte, may vndowtydly, by patyent 601
yet, as riches do
not exclude him,

[* Page 78.]
the most
prosperous state
consists in virtue
and worldly
prosperity.

If we regard
the soul only,

and only the
life to come,

man may, even
in adversity,
attain felicity;

but if we regard
the body also,

and the present
life also,
then felicity in
the highest
degree is not
without worldly
prosperity.

[* Page 79.]

L. thinks this
is true.

602 suffrance of the same, in the lyfe hereaftur attayne
to the most hye felicyte, yet, seying that by no wordly
prosperyte he ys excludyd from the same, hyt may
not [be] dowtyd but that the most prosperouse state *of
man stondyth in the vertues of the mynd couplyd wyth
wordly prosperyte. And, albehyt that few ther be wych
attayne therto, yet bycause hyt ys conuenient to the
609 dygnyte of man, and some ther be wych attayne therto,
the thyng ys not vturly to be taken away, nor vturly
to be denyd from the nature of man. Suffyceent hyt ys
that no man by nature ys excludyd from felicyte, though
al men can not attayne to the hiest degre therof. And
so, yf we haue regard of the soule only, calling hyt,
aftur the mynd of Plato, the veray man, wherof the
616 body ys but as a pryson; and yf we also haue regard
only of the lyfe to come, despysyng, aftur the doctryne
of Chryst, the vayne plesurys of thys present lyfe;
then hyt ys trothe, as you thought, that man, though
he be trowblyd wyth al wordly aduersyte, yet may
ryght wel attayne to hye felicyte. But, contrary, yf we
haue regard not only of the soule, but also of the body,
623 saying with Arystotyl, that man ys the vnyon and con-
iunctyon togyddur of them both; and yf we haue re-
gard also, not only of the lyfe to come, but also of the
lyfe present; then hyt ys true that I say, that felicyte
in the hiest degre ys not wythout wordly prosperyte.
Thus, Master Lvpset, the thyng dyuersly consyderyd
629 makyth betwyx vs to appere controuersy, lyke as hyt
hath downe euer betwyx the old phylosopharys; among
whome the chefe, as Arystotyl and Plato, euer in the
truth dow agre, and only the maner of consyderyng
*the thyngys wherof they dyspute makyth to appere
betwyx them controuersy.

14. Master Lvpset.—Syr, therin I thynke you say
truth, for dyuerse consyderatyon hathe euer made dy-
637 uerse opynyon, and I am glad that both we say truth.

But yet of one thyng I somewhat marvayle, that in the felycyte of man you put dyuerse degrees, to some attri-
butyng more, *and* to some les. Me semyth felycyte ys the most per fayt state, wych admyttyth no degre; for no thyng can be more per fayt than that wych ys most. Wherfor I can not see how they, wych to vertue haue
couplyd also wordly prosperyte, schold yet haue hyar felycyte then they wych, wythout that, haue only vertue, the wych, yf hyt be so, you then agre that vertue alone gyuyth man felycyte.

But can there be degrees of felicity?

15. **Pole.**—You schal marvayle no thyng at thys yf you wyl remembyr what we haue sayd before. Yf man be the soule only, then vertue only gyuyth to man hye felycyte; but yf he be both togyddur, the soule *and* the body, then you see hyt dothe not so. But many other thyngys are requyryd therto, by the reson wherof felycyte admyttyth degres; *and* some haue more wele, *and* some les; *and* he, as I sayd, hath most prosperouse state *and* hiest felycyte, wych hath wyth vertue couplyd al wordly prosperyte; *and* thys ys, wythout fayle, most *conuenient to the nature of man. So that now I thynke hyt ys clere wherin stondyth the felycyte *and* wele of euery partyeular man, by the wych now, as a ground *and* foundatyon leyd, we schal procede to the rest of our communycatyon.

P. says if man consists of soul and body, then he who has virtue and worldly prosperity gains a higher felicity than if man were soul only.

[* Page 80.]

In this is man's happiness.

16. **Lvpset.**—Sir, let vs dow so now, I pray you, for therin now I dowte no more.

17. **Pole.**—Fyrst, thys ys certayn, that lyke as in euery man ther ys a body *and* also a soule, in whose floryschyng *and* prosperouse state bothe togyddur stondyth the wele *and* felycyte of man; so lyke wyse ther ys [in] euery commynalty, cyty, *and* cuntrey, as hyt were, a polytyke body, *and* another thyng also resembling the soule of man, in whose floryschyng both togyddur restyth also the true commyn wele. Thys body ys no thyng els but the multytude of pepul, the

P. compares the State to a man.

The people are the body,

- 674 *nombur* of cytyzys, in euery commynalty, cyty, or
 cuntrey. The thyng wych ys resemblyd to the soule ys
 and civil order is
 the soul. cyuyle ordur *and* polytyke law, admynstryd by offycers
and rularys. For lyke as the body in euery man re-
 ceuyyth hys lyfe by the vertue of the soule, *and* ys
 679 gouernyd therby, so dothe the multytude of pepul in
 euery cuntrey receyue, as hyt were, cyuyle lyfe by lawys
 wel admynstryd by gud offycerys *and* wyse rularys,
 by whome they be gouernyd *and* kept in polytyke
 ordur. Werfor the one may, as me semyth, ryght
 [* Page 81.] wel *be comparyd to the body, *and* the other to the
 soule.

686 18. *Lvpset.*—Thys symylytud lykyth me wel.

P. says the good
 of every country
 arises from three
 things.

19. *Pole.*—Then let vs go forth wyth the same, *and*
 we schal fynd, by *and* by, that lyke as the wele of euery
 man sounderly by hymselfe rysyth of the iij pryncypal
 thyngys befor declaryd, so the commyn wele of euery
 691 cuntrey, cyte, or towne, semblably rysyth of other iij
 thyngys proporecyonabul *and* lyke to the same, in thie
 wych al other partycular thyngys are comprehendyd.
 And the fyrst of them, schortly to say, stondyth in helth,

I. From the num-
 ber of its people.

No matter how
 rich and fertile it
 may be, if the
 people be too
 many or too few,
 or if they be
 oppressed in any
 way, there can be
 no prosperity,

strength, *and* beuty of thys body polytyke *and* mul-
 tytude of pepul, wherin restyth the ground, *and*, as hyt
 were, the fundatyon of the commyn wele. For yf the
 cuntrey be neuer so rych, fertyl, *and* plentyful of al
 thyngys necessary *and* plesaunt to mannys lyfe, yet yf
 ther be of pepul other to few or to many; or yf they
 be, as hyt were, etyn away, dayly deuouryd *and* con-
 sumyd by commyn syknes *and* dysease; ther can be no

- 703 ymage nor schadow of any commyn wele, to the wych
 fyrst ys requyryd a conuenyent multytude *and* conue-
 nyently to be nuryschyd ther in the cuntrey. For
 where as ther be other to many pepul in the cuntrey,
 in so much that the cuntrey by no dylygence nor labur
 708 of man may be suffycient to nurysch them *and* mynys-

Multitude of
 pepul.¹

¹ In margin of MS.

tur them fode, ther wythout dowte can be no commyn 709
wele, but euer myserabul* penury *and* wrechyd pou- [* Page 82.]
erty. Lyke as yf ther be of pepul ouerfew, insomuch but ever miser-
that the cuntrey may not be wel tylyd *and* occupyd, able penury and
nor craftys wel *and* dylygently exercysyd, ther schal wretched poverty.
also sprynge therof grete penury *and* scasenes of al 714
thyngys necessary for mannys lyfe; *and* so then cyuyle
lyfe *and* true commyn wele can in no case be ther
maynteynyd. Wherfor a conuenient multytude mete There must be a
for the place, in euery cuntre *and* commynalty, as the population suited
mater *and* ground of the commyn wele, ys fyrst to be to the place. 719
requyryd of necessitye.

(19.) Ferther, also, though the nombur of pepul Helth of the
were neuer so mete to the place, cyty, or towne, yet pepul.
yf they floryschyd not in bodyly helth, but commynly Further, if the
were vexyd wyth greuus syknes *and* contagyouse dys- number are
ease, by the reson wherof the pepul schold be con- suitable, but lack
sumyd, no man could say ther to be any commyn wele. health, and are
But lyke as euery partycular man in bodyly sykenes, consumed by
and in such specyally wherof he hymselfe ys cause, sickness, there
lakkyth the most prosperouse state, so dothe euery cannot be
cuntrey, cyty, *and* towne, lyke wyse affecte *and* dys- prosperity.
posyd, want much of hys perfayt commyn wele. Ther- 727
for, to thys multytude of pepul *and* polytyke body, 732
fyrst, as ground *and* fundatyon of the rest of hys wele,
ys requyryd a certayn helthe, wych also by strength
must be *maynteynyd. For lyke as the body, yf hyt
be not strong, sone by vtward occasyonys, as by in-
temperance of ayr, labur, *and* trauayle, ys oppressyd
and ouerthrowne, *and* so losythe hys helth; so dothe the
multytude of pepul in euery cuntrey, cyty, or towne,
sone, by warrys *and* iniury of ennemys, wythout 740
strength, lose hys welth *and* sone ys oppressyd *and*
brought in to misery *and* wrechyd captynyte. Wher-
for to thys polytyke body strenght ys also requyryd, The body politie
must have
strength as well

¹ In margin of MS.

as health, or it
must of necessity
decay.

Strenght of the
pepul.¹

A man's body is
said to be strong,
when every part
can perform its
functions quickly
and well; as the
heart is strong
when it serves the
members; and
the members are
said to be strong
when they duly
receive and use
the power sent
from the heart.

[* Page 84.]

The *partys* of the
polytyk body.¹

The heart of a
commonwealth
is the king or
ruler.

As all natural
power springs
from the heart, so
from princees and
rulers come all
laws, order, and
polley.

The head, eyes,
and ears are
the under
officers;

wythout the wych hys helth 'long can not be mayn-
teynyd; but, schortly, of necesstye hyt must deokay.

Thys strength stondyth in thys poynt chefely—so to
kepe *and* maynteyne euery parte of thys body, that they

748 promptly *and* redyly may dow that thyng wych ys re-
quyryd to the helthe of the hole. Lyke as we say, then
euery mannys body to be strong, when euery parte can
execute quykly *and* wel hys offyce determyd by the
ordur of nature; as the hart then ys strong when he,
as fountayn of al natural powarys, mynystryth them
wyth dew ordur to al other; and they then be strong
when they be apte to receyue ther powar of they hart,
and can vse hyt accordyng to the ordur of nature; as
the ye to see, the yere to here, the fote to go, *and* hand
to hold *and* rech; *and so lyke wyse of the rest. Aftur

760 in euery parte beyng abul to dow hys offyce *and* duty;
for thys body hath hys *partys*, wych resembly also the
partys of the body of man, of the wych the most
general to our purpos be thes—the hart, hede, handys,
and fete. The hart therof ys the kyng, prynce, *and* rular
of the state, whether so euer hyt be one or many, ac-
cordyng to the gouernance of the commynalty *and* poly-

767 tyke state; for some be gouernyd by a prynce alone,
some by a conseyl of certayn wyse men, *and* some by
the hole pepul togyddur, as here aftur, when occasyon
requyryth, more playnly I wyl schow. But now to our
purpos. He or they wych haue authoryte apou the hole

772 state rygh[t] wel may be resemblyd to the hart. For lyke
as al wyt, reson, *and* sens, felyng, lyfe, *and* al other
natural powar, spryngyth out of the hart, so from the
prynceys *and* rularys of the state commyth al lawys, ordur
and polley, al justyce, vertue, *and* honesty, to the rest
of thys polytyke body. To the hede, wyth the yes, yerys,
and other sensys therin, resemblyd may be ryght wel the

¹ In margin of MS.

vnder offycerys by pryneys appoyntyd, for as much as they schold euer obserue *and* dylygently wayte for the wele of the rest of thys body. *To the handys are resemblyd bothe craftysmen *and* warryarys wych defend the rest of the body from iniury of ennymys vtward, *and* worke *and* make thyngys necessary to the same. To the fete, the plowmen *and* tyllarys of the ground, bycause they, by theyr labur, susteyne *and* support the rest of the body. Thes are the most general partys of thys polytyke body, wych may justely be resemblyd aftur the maner declaryd to thos chefe partys in mannys body. Now, as I sayd, the strength of thes partys altogyddur ys of necessity requyryd, wythout the wych the helth of the hole can not long be maynteynyd.

[* Page 85.]

craftysmen and
warriors are the
hands;

784

ploughmen the
feet.

788

(19.) And ferthermore, yet though thys polytyke

793

body be helthy *and* strong, yet yf hyt be not beutyful, but foule deformyd, hyt lakyth a parte of hys wele *and* prosperouse state. Thys beuty also stondyth in the dew proportyon of the same partys togyddur, so that one parte euer be agreabul to a nother in forme *and* fascyon, quantyte *and* nombur; as craftysmen *and* plowmen in dew nombur *and* proportyon wyth other partys, accordyng to the place, cyty, or towne. For yf ther be other to many or to few of one or of the other, ther ys in the commynalty a grete deformyte; *and* so lyke wyse of the other partys. Wherfor the dew proportyon of one parte to a nother must be obseruyd, *and* therin stondyth the corporal beuty

Beuty of the
polytyk body.¹(¹ In margin.)All these must
be in due
proportion,

798

because if there
are too many or
too few,
there is
deformity.

806

chefely of thys polytyk body. And so in thes iij thyngys, couplyd togyddur, stondyth, wythout fayle, the wele **and* prosperouse state of the multytude in euery commynalty, wych, as you now se, iustely may be resemblyd to the body of euery partycular man.

[* Page 86.]

811

And yet ferther to procede in thys symylytud. Lyke as the wele of the body, wythout ryches *and* conuenyent abundance of thyngys necessary, can not con-

Veetigalia et
annona.¹

2. There must be
abundance of
necessaries and
friends ;

for if a country
be ever so well
replenished with
people,
yet if it lack
necessaries, it
cannot prosper.

Poverty is the
mother of envy
and malice,
dissension and
debate.

If the country
lack the friend-
ship of those
living near,
Amici socij
recip[roci] ?¹
but is surrounded
by foes, it cannot
flourish.

[* Page 87.]

Lawys and poly-
tyk ordur.¹

3. Good order
and good laws
are required,
for without these
all other advan-
tages are useless.

815 tinue nor be maynteynyd, so thys multytude wych
we cal the polytyke body, wythout lyke abund-
aunce of al thyngys necessary, can not florysche in
most perfayt state. Wherfor thes exteryor thyngys
—frendys, ryches, *and* abundance of necessarys—are
iustely, in the second place, to be requyryd to the

821 mayntenance of thys true commyn wele wych we now
serche. For yf a cuntrey be neuer so wel replenysschyd
wyth pepul, helthy, strong, *and* beutyful, yet yf theyr²
be lake of necessarys, hyt can not long prosper ; ther
wyl schortly grow in al kynd of mysery, for grete
pouerty in any cuntrey hathe euer couplyd gret mysery.
Sche ys the mother of enuy *and* malyce, dyssen-
syon *and* debate, *and* many other myschefys ensuyng
the same. Wherfor, wythout necessarys no cuntrey can

830 florysch ; ye, *and* yf ther be no lake of necessarys for
the sustenance of the pepul, but grete abundance of
ryches *and* of al thyngys necessary *and* plesaunt for
mannys lyfe, yet yf the same cuntrey lake the frenschype
of other joynyd therto, *and* be inuyromnyd *and* com-
passyd aboute wyth ennemys *and* fowys, lying euer in
wayte to spoyle, robbe, *and* destroy the same, I can not
see how that cuntrey can long *florysch in prosperyte.

Wherfor the frenschype of other cuntreys ys no les re-
839 quyryd then ryches *and* abundaunce of other thyngys
necessary. *And* so in thes thyngys joynyd togyddur
restyth the second poynt requyryd to the wele of euery
commynalty.

(19.) The thryd—wych ys chefe *and* pryncypal of al
—ys the gud ordur *and* pollycey by gud lawys stablyschyd
and set, *and* by hedys *and* rularys put in effect ; by the
wyche the hole body, as by reson, ys gouernyd *and*

¹ In margin of MS.

² The following is written in the margin, but there is no
sign to show where it should be inserted :—as frendys to
may[n]teyne the state, or els by ennymys they schortly may
be oppressyd.

rulyd, to the intent that thys multytude of pepul *and* hole commynalty, so helthy *and* so welthy, hauyng conuenient abundaunce of al thyngys necessary for the mayntenance therof, may wyth dew honowr, reuerence, 850 *and* loue, relygyously worschype God, as fountayn of al gudnes, Maker *and* Gouvernower of al thys world; euery one also dowyng hys duty to other wyth brotherly loue, one louyng one a nother as membrys *and* partys of one body. And that thys ys of the other poyntys most chefe 855 *and* pryncypal hyt ys euydent *and* playne; for what awaylyth hyt in any cuntrey to haue a multytude neuer so helthy, beutyful, *and* strong, wych wyl folow no cyuyle nor polytyke ordur, but euery one, lyke wyld bestys drawn by folysch fantasy, ys lade by the same, wythout reson *and* rule? Or what awaylyth in any cuntrey to haue neuer so grete ryches *and* *abundaunce of al thyngys both necessary *and* plesant to mannys lyfe, 863 where as the pepul, rude, wythout polyty, can not vse that same to theyr owne commodyte? Wythout fayle, nothyng. But euen lyke as euery man, hauyng helth, abundaunce of ryches, frendys, dygnyte, *and* authoryte, wych lakyth reson *and* vertue to gouerne the same, euer abussyth them to hys owne destructyon; so euery cuntrey, cyty, *and* towne, though they be neuer so replenyschyd wyth pepul, hauyng al abundaunce of thyngys necessary 871 *and* plesaunt to the mayntenance of the same, yet yf they lake gud ordur *and* pollytyke rule, they schal abuse al such commodytes to theyr owne destructyon *and* ruyne, *and* neuer schal attayne to any commyn wele; wych, wythout cyuyle ordur *and* polytyke rule, can 876 neuer be brought to purpos nor effecte.

20. *Lvpset.*—Sir, I pray you here, before you procede any ferther in your communicatyon,—bycause hyt ys, as me semyth, much to our purpos, *and* much you speke therof,—declare somewhat at large what thyng 881 hyt ys that you so oft name *and* cal now “pollycy,”

Every one must exercise brotherly love and do his duty;

because multitudes of people and abundance of necessities are of no avail if the people will not obey order;

[* Page 88.]

and these good things will be abused to the destruction of the commonwealth.

L. asks what “policy” and “civil order” mean.

883 now “cyuyle ordur,” *and* now “polytyke rule;” to the intent that I may the bettur vnderstond the rest of your commuunycatyon.

P. promises to satisfy him on these points at once.

[* Page 89.]

889 I wyl go about in some parte to satysfye your mynd *and* desyre. A tyme ther was, *Master Lvpset*, as we fynd in storys many *and* dyuerse, when man, wythout cyty or towne, law or relygyon, wan[d]eryd abroad in the wyld feldys *and* wodys, non other wyse then you see now brute bestys to dow. At the wych tyme he was lad *and* drawen wythout reson *and* rule by frayle fantasy *and* inordynat² affectys, *and* so long contynuyd, *and* many yerys, tyl at the last certayn men of gret wytt *and* pollycy, wyth perfayte eloquence *and* hye phylo[so]phy,—consyderyng the excellent nature *and* dygnyte of

There was a time when men had no cities, no towns, no religion,

Polytyke lyfe,¹

but lived in forests as beasts do now; till some, considering his dignity, and perceiuing he was born to something higher,

900 man, *and* perceyuyng ryght wel that he was borne *and* of nature brought forth to hyar perfectyon then he applyd hymselfe vnto,—began to persuade the rest of the pepul to forsake that rudnes *and* vncomly lyfe, *and* so to folow some ordur *and* cyuilyte. *And* fyrst of al to

persuaded him to forsake his rude life and build cities.

905 byld them certayn cytes *and* townys, wherto they myght assembl to theyr commyn ayde, succur, *and* commodyte, avoydyng the daunger *and* peryl of the wyld bestys, by whome they were oft before deuouryd *and* destroyd.

Then came ordinances and laws, but

Then, aftur, they deuysyd certayn ordynance *and* lawys, wherby they myght be somewhat inducyd to folow a

911 lyfe conuenient to theyr nature *and* dygnyte. Thes lawys *and* ordynance, at the fy[r]st begynnyng also, were vnperfayt *and* *somewhat rude, accordyng to the tyme *and* nature of the pepul; for hyt was not possybul sodeynly, by exacte law *and* pollycy, to bryng such a

[* Page 90.] rude and imperfect, like the people themselves.

¹ In margin of MS.

² Although this word is not marked out, the word “vn-rulyd” is written above it.

rude multytude to *perfayt* cyuylyte, but *euer* as the pe- 916

pul, by processe of tyme, in vertue increasyd, so *partycular* lawys by *polytyke* men were deuysyd. And thus

These things were
a work of time,

in long tyme, by *perfayt* eloquence *and* hie phylosophy men were brought, by *lytyl* *and* *lytyl*, from the rude lyfe in feldys *and* wodys, to thys cyuylyte, wch you now se stablyschyd *and* set in al wel rulyd cytes *and* townys. 922

but by eloquence
and philosophy
men were brought
by litle and
litle to civility.

Where as you see some *gouernyd* *and* *rulyd* by a kyng or prynce, some by a *commyn* consayl of certayn wyse men, *and* some by the hole body *and* multytude of pepul; *and* thus hyt was determyd, jugyd, *and* appoyntyd by wysdome *and* pollycey, that *euer*, accordyng to the nature of the pepul, so, by one of thes *polytyke* manerys, they schold be *gouernyd*, ordryd, *and* rulyd. For some pepul ther be to whome the rule of a prynce more agreth then a *commyn* counseyl, as such as haue byn long vsyd ther- to, *and* be not gretly desyrouse of hie authoryte, but in pryuate lyfe are content to lyue quyety. To other, contrary, ys mor conuenyence [in] the rule of a *commyn* coun- 929

There were
various kinds of
government,
some by a king,
some by a council,
and some by the
whole body,
but each was
suited to a
particular people.

seyl, wch can in no case suffur the rule of one, for as much as euery one of them by theyr custume *and* nature, are desyrouse of frank lyberty *and* hie authoryte; *and* so to them *ys bettur the rule of many. How be hyt, thys *euer* ys certayn *and* sure among al sortys *and* nature of pepul, whether the state of the *commynalty* be *gouernyd* by a prynce, by certayn wyse men, or by the hole multytude, so long as they wch haue authoryte *and* rule of the state loke not to theyr owne syngular profyt, nor to the priuate wele of any one parte more then to the other, but refer al theyr cons[e]yle, actys, 934

934

[* Page 91.]

and dedys to the *commyn* wele of the hole;—so long, I say, the ordur ys gud, *and* dyrectyd to gud cyuylyte, *and* thys ys gud pollycey. But when they wch haue rule, corrupt wyth ambyeyon, enuy, or malyce, or any other lyke affecte, loke only to theyr owne syngular wele, plesure, *and* profyt, then thys gud ordur ys turnyd

No matter what
the form of
government may
be, so long as
the people study
to promote the
publie good,
it is good policy.

945

But it becomes
tyranny when
the good of an
individual is
sought,

and the rule of
civility is broken.

into hye tyrannye ; then ys broken the rule of al gud
cyuylyte; ther can be no polytyke rule, nor cyuyle ordur;
the nature wherof now to perceyue ys, as I thynke, no

955 thyng hard at al. For hyt ys a certayn rule wherby the
pepul *and* hole commynalty, whether they be gouernyd
by a prynce or commyn counseyle, ys euer dyrectyd in
virtue *and* honesty. So that the end of al polytyke rule
ys, to enduce the multytud to vertuse lyuynge, accordynge
to the dygnyte of the nature of man. And so thus you

Virtue is the end
of all politic
rule.

961 haue hard what thyng hyt ys that I so oft speke of *and*
cal polytyke rule, cyuyle ordur, *and* juste pollycey. * You

[* Page 92.]

The kind of
government is
immaterial,

haue hard also how dyuerse hyt ys, for hyt may be
other vnder a pry[n]ce, commyn conseyl of certayn, or
vnder the hole multytude ; *and* as to dyspute wych of

966 thys rulys ys best, *and* to be preferryd aboue other,
me semyth superfluouse, seyng that certayne hyt ys
that al be gud *and* to nature agreabul ; *and* though
the one be more conuenient to the nature of some popul
then the other. Wherfor best hyt ys, leuyng thys
questyon, al men to be content wyth theyr state, so long
as they be not oppressyd wyth playn tyranny.

though one may
be more con-
venient than
another.
It is best to be
contented,
if you are not
oppressed.

973 (21.) *And* so now to retorne to our purpos agayne,
Master Lupset, thys ys, wythout dowte, certayn *and*
sure,—that wythout such cyuyle ordur *and* polytyke
rule, ther can neuer, in any cuntrey, cyte, or towne, be
seen any schadow of the true commyn wele. For

Without civil
order there can
be no true
commonwealth,

978 yf ther be neuer so many popul, as I haue oft sayd, *and*
neuer so grete ryches in any cuntrey or commynalty,
yet yf ther be no polytyke rule nor cyuyle ordur, of
al such thyng they schal take no commodityte. Yf
al the partys of the cyty wyth loue be not knyt to-

983 gyddur in vnyte as membrys of one body, ther can
be no cyuylyte. For lyke as in mannys mynd ther
only ys quyetnes *and* hye felycyte, wher as in a
gud body al the affectys wyth reson dow agre, so in a
cuntrey, cyty, or towne, ther ys perfayt cyuylyte, ther

for as in man
there only is
felicity where
mind and body
agree ;
so in a country
or town there

ys the true *commyn wele*, where as al the *partys*, as *membrys* of one body, be knyt togyddur in *perfayt loue* **and vnyte*; euery one dowyng hys offyce *and* duty, aftur such maner that, what so euer state, offyce, or degre, any man be of, the duty therto *perteynyng* wyth al dylygence he besyly fulfyl, *and* wythout enuy or malyce to other accomplysch the same. As, by *exampul*, they hedys *and* rularys, both *spiritual and* temporal, to dow theyr duty, prouydyng alway that fyrst, *and* aboue al, the pepul may be instruct wyth the doctryne of Chryst, fede *and* nuryshyd wyth the *spiritual* fode of hys celestyal word, euer dyrectyd therto by al gud pollycy; so that consequently they may also quyetly labur, both wythout vtward *impedymment and* hurt of ennemys, *and* also wythout inward iniury among themselfe, one oppresyng another wyth wrongys *and* iniury, but dylygently to labur, procuryng fode *and* thyngys necessary for the hole polytyke body. *And* thys ys the offyce *and* duty, breuely to say, of hedys *and* rularys, aftur thys maner dylygently to se the admynystratyon of justyce to the hole *commynalty*. For the wych purpos they are thys maynteynd in pompe *and* plesure, *and* in quyat lyfe, wythout al traunayle *and* bodyly labur, as you see; in al placeys *commynly* euer maynteynd by the labur *and* traunayle of the pore *commynalty*, to the intent, that they, a the other syde, supportyd by theyr prudence *and* pollycy, may dylygently, wyth *commyn* quyetnes, apply themselfys to theyr laburys *and* paynys for the susteynyng of the hole body, the wych also ys the chefe poynt of theyr offyce *and* duty; gyuyng also reuerently to theyr pryneys *and* lordys al humbul seruyce *and* meke obedyence requyryd to theyr *state *and* degre. And so thus, when euery parte, aftur thys maner, dothe hys offyce *and* duty requyryd therto, wyth *perfayt loue and* amyte one to a nother, one glad to succur *and* ayd another as *membrys and* *partys* of one body; to the in-

can only be perfect civility where all the parts agree,
[* Page 93.] every one performing his duty whatever his degree.

Temporal and spiritual rulers should see the people are instructed and nourished with spiritual food.

The duty of rulers is diligently to see that justice is duly administered, for which purpose they are maintained in pomp and pleasure by the labours of others,

[* Page 94.]

And so when every one does his duty in perfect love,

- 1024 tent that, aftur thys wordly *and* cyuyle lyfe here paysy-
bly passyd *and* vertusely spent, they may at the last
all may attain a higher felicity suited to the dignity of man. Then shall there be a true commonwealth,
1031 we so long haue sought,—that ys to say, a veray *and*
A commyn wele.¹ true commyn wele, wych ys no thyng els but the prosperouse *and* most perfayt state of a multytud assemblyd togyddur in any cuntrey, cyty, or towne, gouernyd ver-
which is the prosperous and most perfect state of a multitude assembled together.
tusely in cyuyle lyfe, accordyng to the nature *and* dyg-
nyte of man. The nature wherof now, I thynke, you may clerly perceyue, *and* how, semblably, hyt rysyth of
1038 iij thynkys, lyke *and* proportionabul to them, wherin
A commonwealth is most prosperous when it has (1) a multitude of people, healthy, beautiful, and strong.
stondyth the wele of euery partyeular man. For lyke as a man ys then welthy, *and* hath hye felycyte, when he hathe helth, strength, *and* beuty of body, wyth suffy-
cyency of frendys *and* wordly godys to maynteyne the same, *and* hathe also therto joynyd honest behanyour
both toward God *and* man ; *so a cuntrey, cyte, or towne,
1045 hathe hys commyn wele *and* most perfayt state, when
fyrst the multytude of pepul *and* polytyke body ys helthy, beutyful, *and* strong, abul to defend themselfys from
vtward iniurys ; *and* then plentuously nuryshyd wyth abundance of al thyngys necessary *and* plesaut for the sustentatyon *and* quyetnes of mannys lyfe,—and so,
thyrdly, lyue togyddur in cyuyle ordur, quyetly, *and* peasybly passyng theyr lyfe, ych one louyng other as
partys of one body, euery parte dowyng hys duty *and* offyce requyryd therto. Then, I say, ther ys the veray
and true commyn wele ; ther ys the most prosperouse *and* perfayt state, that in any cuntrey, cyte, or towne, by
pollycy *and* wysdom, may be stablyschyd *and* set. To
1058 the ayd *and* setting forward wherof, euery man for hys

¹ In margin of MS.

parte, by the law *and* ordur of nature, ys bounden ; 1059

wych hath brought forth man, as I sayd at the begyn- And for this
nyng of our *communycatyon*, for thys purpos *and* for every man is
thys end,—that aftur such maner he myght lyue in bound to live,
cyuyle lyfe, euer hauyng befor hys yes thys *commyn* referring all he
wele, wythout regard of hys owne vayne plesurys, frayle does to this end.

fantasys, *and* syngular *profyt*. Euery thyng that he 1064

doth in thys lyfe referring to thys end, wych ys the

only poynt *and* marke, of al *conseyllys* assemblyd in any

commynalty, to be lokyd vnto ; non other wyse then to

gud *physycyonys* the helth of theyr patyentys, or to gud 1069

marynerys the hauen *and* porte to the wych *they sayle

and dresse theyr course. And euen lyke as a schype

then ys wel *gouernyd* when both the mastur *and* rular

of the sterne ys wyse *and* *experte*, *and* euer hath before

hys yes, as a marke to loke vnto, the hauen or place of

hys arryue, *and* euery man also in the schype doth hys

offyce *and* duty appoyntyd to hym ; by the reson wher-

of, consequently, the schype arryuyth at the hauen pur-

posyd *and* intendyd ; so a cuntrey, cyty, or towne, then

ys wel *gouernyd*, ordryd, *and* rulyd, when the hedys or

rularys therof be vertuse *and* wyse, euer hauyng before

theyr yes, as a marke to schote at, the welthe of theyr 1081

sub[i]ectys, euery one of them also dowyng theyr offyce

and duty to them appoyntyd *and* determyd. And so

consequently the hole polytyke body attaynyth the veray

and true *commyn* wele, wych now I thynke, Master

Lupset, somewhat you see, bothe what hyt ys *and* 1086

wherin hyt stondyth.

(21.) For lyke as the helth of mannys body stond-
yth not in the helth of one *partycular parte* ther-
of, but in the gud *and* natural affecte *and* dysposytyon
of euery *parte* couplyd to other ; so thys true *commyn*
wele in thys polytyke body stondyth not in the wele *and*
prosperouse state of any *partycular parte* seperat from
other, but in euery *parte* couplyd togyddur, vnyte *and*

[* Page 96.]

A well-governed
commonwealth
may be compared
to a ship,
where the
master and
steersman ever
look to the place
of their arrival,
and a country
is well governed
when its rulers
always have the
good of the
subject before
them.

As the health
of a man's body
stands not in the
health of one
particular
member,
but in all the
members to-
gether,
so the true
commonwealth
does not stand
in the prosperity

of any particular part, but in the prosperity of the whole.

[* Page 97.]

- knyte as membrys of one body by loue, as by the commyn bande of al polytyke ordur *and* gud cyuylyte. And lyke as the helth of the body determyth no partycular *complexyon, but in euery one of the iiij by physycyons determyd, as in sanguyn, melancolyk, phlegmatyk,¹
- 1100 *and* coleryke, may be found *perfayt*; so thys commyn wele determyth to hyt no partycular state, wych by polytyke men haue byn deuysyd *and* reducyd to iiij; nother the rule of a prynee, nother of a certayn nombur of wyse men, nother yet of the hole multytude *and* body
- 1105 of the pepul, but in euery one of thes hyt may be found *perfayt and* stabul. How be hyt, as of physycyons the sanguyn complexyon ys gugyd of other chefe *and* best for the mayntenance of helthe of the body, so the state of a prynee, where as he ys chosen by fre electyon most worthy to rule, ys, among the other, chefe *and* pryncypal jugyd of wyse men for the mayntenance *and* long contynuaunce of thys commyn wele *and* polytyke rule in any
- 1113 commynalty. Wherfor hyt determyth no certayn state, so that hyt can be in non other; but in euery one hyt may be founde *and* surely groundyd, so long as euery parte ys kept in hys ordur wyth prosperyte. And as to
- 1117 see *and* playnly to juge when thys commyn wele most floryschyth, hyt ys no thyng hard, but esy to perceyue. For when al thes partys, thys couplyd togyddur, exereyse wyth dylygence theyr offyce *and* duty, as the plowmen *and* laburarys of the ground dylygently tyl the same, for the gettingyng of fode *and* necessary sustenance to the rest of the *body; *and* craftysmen worke al thyngys mete
- 1124 for mayntenance of the same; ye, and they hedys *and* rularys by just pollycy maynteyne the state stablyschyd in the cuntrey, ener loking to the profyte of they hole body; then that commyn wele must nedys florysch, then that cuntrey must nedys be in the most prosperouse state. For ther you schal see ryches *and* conuenient

Where a prince is chosen by free election, that is deemed by some the best form of government.

When all the members of a body politic work together for the public good,

[* Page 98.]

that common-wealth must needs flourish.

¹ MS. *phlegmatyk*.

abundaunce of al thyngys necessary ; ther you schal see
 cytes *and* townys so garnyschyd wyth pepul, that hyt
 schalbe necessary in plaecys deserte, to byld mo cytes,
 castellys, *and* townys for the mynyschyng of such a
 multytude, wych ys a sure argumente *and* certayn token
 of the floryschyng of thys polytyke body. So that of
 thys you may be sure : where so euer you se any coun-
 trey wel garnyschyd *and* set wyth cytes *and* townys,
 wel replenyschyd wyth pepul, hauyng al thyngys neces-
 sary *and* plesaunt to man, lyuyng togyddur in cyuyle
 lyfe, accordyng to the excellent dygnyte of the nature
 of man ; euery parte of thys body agreyng to other,
 dowyng hys offyce *and* duty appoyntyd therto ; ther, I
 say, you may be sure ys set a veray *and* true commyn
 wele, ther hyt floryschyth as much as the nature of man
 wyl suffur. *And* thus now, Master Lvpset, schortly to
 conclude, aftur my mynd you haue hard rudely de-
 scribyd, what ys the thyng that I cal the commyn wele
and iust pollycey, wherin hyt stondyth, *and* when hyt
 most *floryschyth.

Increase of
 population is
 an evidence of
 prosperity ;

1133

and wherever
 these signs of
 prosperity are
 seen,

1139

we may rest
 assured that
 there is a true
 commonwealth.

1146

[* Page 99.]

22. Lvpset.—Sir, though you haue therein satysfyd
 my mynd ryght wel, *and* clerly the mater openyd, yet
 you haue made me therwyth somewhat sory, ye, *and* to
 lament wyth myselfe. For I haue euer thought hytherto
 that the state of Chrystundome hath had in hyt a veray
 true commyn weele *and* just pollycey, *and* that hyt hath
 byn [the] most perfayt *and* floryschyng that myght be
 conuenient to the nature of man, seyng that hyt was
 set *and* stablyschyd by such an author as you know hyt
 was. But now, me semyth, of your communycatyon, hyt
 wantyth many thyngys requyryd to the most perfayt
 state aftur your descryptyon ; *and* most specyally of thos
 wych we cal exteryor thyngys, wherin we put wordly
 prosperyte ; of the wych ther ys grettur want in the state
 of Chrystys church then hath byn befor hyt in other
 kynd of pollycey, ye, *and* ys now in other statys of poly-

L. expresses
 himself as
 satisfied with
 Pole's explana-
 tion,
 but regrets it
 because there is
 no common-
 wealth so
 perfect as that
 described.

1157

1162

1166 tyke pepul. Wherfor, by thys mean hyt apperyth many-
 He thinks much
 hangs upon
 fortune.
 festely that the commyn wele *and* the floryschyng of
 the same hangyth much of fortune, as touchyng the
 wordly prosperyte, wherof sche hath grete domynyon,
and hath byn euer notyd to be as lady *and* mastres.

1171 23. *Pole.*—Wel, Master Lvpset, as to thys, I schal
 shortly schow you my sentence *and* mynd. Fyrst, thys
 ys certayn, though the state of Chrystundome be not
 P. says though
 the state of
 [* Page 100.]
 Christendom is
 not flourishing
 and is yet
 imperfect;
 it is the best
 which has ever
 been established,
 and tends towards
 the attainment
 of everlasting
 life.
 [the] most *perfayt* **and* most floryschyng that myght be
 (for as much as hyt lakkyth, as you say truly, much
 wordly prosperyte) yet hyt ys of al other that euer hath
 byn yet stablyschyd among men, or euer, I thynk,
 schalbe, most *perfayt and* sure, *and* most conuenient to
 the nature of man; forasmuch as the rule *and* ordur
 therof tendyth to euerlastyng lyfe *and* felycyte, *and*
 forbycause the plesurys of thys lyfe *and* wordly pros-

1182 peryte so blyndyd man before Chryst commynly, that
 he nothyng regardyd the lyfe to come. Therfor, to
 pluke thys blyndnes out of mannys mynd, the Author
and Stablyschar of our Chrystyn pollycy, tought vs,
 by contempt of thys vayn prosperyte, to take the
 1187 streyght way to euerlastyng felycyte. For, seyng hyt
 was so, that man could not as a passenger only vse to
 the ryght purpos thys prosperyte, but drownyd ther-
 wyth lokyd no fertlier then thys pollycy, necessary
 hyt was to bryng man to the contempt of the same.

It was necessary
 to bring man to
 despise
 prosperity;
 and heavenly
 wisdom,
 not worldly
 prosperity,
 has done this.

To thys the Heuently Wysdome, *and* no wordly pol-
 lycy, hathe brought the state of Chrystundome; the
 wych passyth al other non other wyse then doth that
 man wych, garnyschyd wyth al vertue, in pouerty *and*
 1196 syknes *and* al wordly aduersyte, fer passyth hym
 that, by belth, honowur, *and* ryches, ys drownyd in
 wordly prosperyte. And yet I wyl not say hyt ys [the]
 most *perfayt* state that may be. For euen lyke as the
 welth of euery partycular man, sonderly by hymselfe,
 yf he lake helth or necessarys, though he be most ver-

Wealth and
 virtue without
 health are not the
 most perfect
 state,

tuse, ys not most *perfayt*, as you haue hard before ; *so
the state of any cuntry, cyty, or towne, ys not [the] most
perfayt that may be, yf ther be lake of wordly *prosperyte* ;
wych, as we haue at large before declaryd, yf hyt be
wel vsyd, excludyth no cuntry from most *perfayt* pol-
lycy, ordur, *and* rule, but rather much settyth forward
the same. And as touchyng that you sayd, that the com-
myn wele schold by thys mean hang much of fortune,
thys, I thynke, be truth, spekyng of the most *perfayt*
state wych may be, to the wych of necessity ys requyryd
thys wordly *prosperyte*. To thys agre bothe Arystotyl
and Theophraste, they grete *and* auneynt phylosopharys,
wych, though the[y] were of the Stoyke secte, therfore
reproyde. Yet, me semyth, theyr opynyon, yf hyt be wel
ponderyd, agreth wel to nature *and* to mannys reson.
For truly thys ys sure, that fortune, or els what other
name soeuer you wyl gyue to the blynd *and* vncertayne
causys wych be not in mannys powar ; that same, I say,
hath grete domynyon *and* rule in al vtward thyngys
and wordly, both in the pryuate *and* publyke state of
euery man. For who ys he that doth not dayly in ex-
perience se how ryches *and* helth, authoryte *and* dygnyte,
ye, *and* al other callyd wordly *prosperyte*, by fortune
and chaunce, be now mynyschyde, now increasyd, now
set aloft, now troden vnder fote, now floryschyng, now
in dekey ; non other wyse then the trowblus *and* tem-
pestuus see, wych by euery wynd ys tossyd *and* tumblyd
from hys stabyl quyetnes *and* tranquyllyte. **And yet I*
wyl not say that the commyn wele of any cuntry, cyty,
or towne, or felycyte of any partycular man, so hangyth
apon fortune, that, wythout hyr ayd *and* succur, they
can not stond ; for that were to vertue grete iniury,
wych to euery man gynyth felycyte, *and* to euery cun-
trey hys true commyn wele *and* just pollycy. How be
hyt, except to thys vertue be also couplyd wordly *pros-*
peryte, wherby hyt may be put in vse to the profyte

[* Page 101.]
and a country
is not perfect
which lacks
worldly
prosperity.

1206

He owns that he
thinks much
depends on
fortune,

1211

1216

which has great
power in all
outward and
worldly things.

1222

Some by her
are exalted ;
others are
brought low and
trodden under
fool.

[* Page 102.]
Yet he will not
own that the
happiness of any
country so
depends upon
fortune,
that it cannot
stand without
her aid.

1235

of other, me semyth (as I oft haue sayd before), hyt lettyth not man in hys most perfayt state that he may be in ; nor leuyth not in the cuntrey, cyty, or towne, 1241 the hiest wele that may come therto, *and* be stablyschyd therin, by prudent pollycy. For [who] dowtyth of thys, but that such a man hath more perfayte state wych to vertue hath joynyd al wordly prosperyte, then he wych hath equal vertue, but, oppressyd wyth al wordly aduersyte, by the reson wherof he can not put in effect

That is the most perfect state where virtue is joined to worldly prosperity ;

1247 hys vertuse purpos *and* honest intent? And so, lykewyse, to no man hyt ys dowte, but that cuntrey, cyty, or towne, wych ys replenyschyd wyth pepul, helthy *and* strong, hauyng habundaunce of ryches *and* al thyngys necessary, wel gouernyd *and* rulyd wyth polytyke ordur, ys in hyar *and* mor perfayt state, then that cuntrey where ys grete pouerty *and* lake of al thyngys necessary,

and no man doubts that a country with plenty of healthy people,

well governed, is nearer perfection than the country which lacks necessities.

1254 though ther be besyde neuer so gud ordur *and* perfayt cyuylyte. For thys ys truth, Master Lvpset, as me *semyth, that I haue oft sayd, thys wordly prosperyte, yf hyt be wel vsyd, some thyng incresyth mannys felycyte ; nor no thyng hyt ys to be maruelyd that per- fayt felycyte *and* hiest commyn wele hang some thyng

[* Page 103.]
Worldly prosperity, well used, increases man's happiness.

1260 of fortune *and* chaunce ; for as much as they haue domynyon *and* rule in certayn thyngys, wych of neces- syte are requyryd to them in the perfyttyst degre ; for euery thyng as hyt ys more perfayt in hys nature, so hyt requyryth euer mo thyngys to hys perfectyon.

1265 Thys ys so euydent *and* playn, bothe in al thyngys brought forth of nature *and* by craft made, that hyt nedyth no profe,—hyt nedyth no long declaratyon. For as much as God hymselfe, bycause he ys of al thyng most perfayt, therfor he requyryth to hym al perfectyon. Wherfor, nother to mannys felycyte in the most perfayt degre, nor to the commyn wele of any cuntrey in the most perfayt state *and* pollycy, hyt ys no imperfectyon to hange of many vtward *and* ex-

It is no imperfection to man, or to a common-wealth, that it should depend on fortune and chance.

teryor thyngys, wych oft be alteryd by fortune *and* 1274
 chaunce. *And* thus, *Master Lvpset*, aftur my mynd,
 hyt ys no inconuenyens that mannys felycyte by the
 fauour of fortune schold be set forward vnto the hiest
 degre. 1278

24. *Master Lvpset*.—Sir, hyt may be wel true, as L. does not like
 you dow now say, *and* by gud reson conclude ; but yet, to see so much
 me semyth, hyt sounyth veray yl, hyt jarryth in myn power given to
 yerys, to gyue such powar to blynd fortune in *mannys felycyte. [* Page 104.]

25. *Pole*.—Nay, *Master Lvpset*,¹ you may not take P. says fortune
 hyt thys, that fortune hath powar to cast man out of hys can no more
 felycyte, no more then they cloudys haue powar of the deprive a man of
 sone, wych though oft tymys they let hys radyant happiness than
 beamys yet they cast hym not out of hys perfectyon ; the clouds can
 but euer, lyke as the cloudys let the schynyng *and* 1289
 spredying of the sone beamys downe to the erth, to the prevent the sun
 comfort of al lyuely creaturys, so dothe fortune oft tymys from shining.
 let vertue, *and* trowbul mannys felycyte, stoppyng hyt
 from exereyse *and* vse, to the commyn profyt of other
and commodyte. But so long as hyt happunnyth not 1294
 by mannys neelygence, but by vtward occasyon, ther ys
 in hym no faut nor blame. Wherfor, though man be
 here oppressyd wyth iniurys of fortune *and* al wordly oppressed by
 aduersyte, yet, yf hys mynd be stablyd *and* set wyth adversity,
 vertuse purpos *and* honest intent, God (wych lokyth yet if his mind
 only *and* knowyth the hart) schal therfor heraftur in a be established
 nother lyfe gyue hym euerlastyng felycyte *and* joy ; by with virtue and
 the hope wherof he ys also, in thys lyfe present, so com- honesty,
 fortyd *and* fede, that he can by no maner fal into wreech- God will give
 ednes *and* misery. How be hyt, the most hye felycyte, him felicity
 after myn opynyon, he hath not, except therto be hereafter.
 joynyd wordly prosperyte. 1303

26. *Lvpset*.—Syr, yet thys, me semyth, ys some- L. says this
 what straunge, consyderyng your symylytude *and* al that seems strange
 to him.

[* Page 105.]

How can fortune
keep man from
felicity?

1313 you spake of befor; for yf they iniury of fortune to
vertue *and*¹ *felycyte be but as cloudys to the sone, how
schold they let man from hys hiest perfectyon? Me
semyth no more then the cloudys let the sone from hys
perfectyon, wych I thynke no man wyl say. Troth hyt
ys, that they, *perauentur*, somtyme let the perfectyon
of thyngys beneth, but of the sone no thyng at al.

P. answers, the
sun com-
municates his
perfection at all
times,
but virtue
ca. not.

27. *Pole*.—*Master Lupset*, I schal tel you, yf the
1317 perfectyon of the sone *and* exerceyse therof were let by
cloudys, as vertue ys, *and* the operatyon therof, by ini-
uriys of fortune, I wold then agre to you in thys mater.
But in that thyng they be not al lyke; for the sone
communyth hys perfectyon at al tymys to thes inferyor
thyngys accordyng to theyr nature *and* capacitye, as wel
in cloudys as in serenyte. But vertue, vndowtydly, let
by fortune *and* wordly aduersyte, can not commune hyr
1325 actys *and* dedys to the profyt of other. Wherfor in
thys mater ther ys no more to be dowtyd; but sure hyt
ys, that fortunys fauour somewhat aydyth *and* settyth
forward the hiest poynt of felycyte; *and* so, in lyke wyse,
the commyn wele of euery cuntrey, cyty, or towne, wych,
1330 wythout ryches *and* other wordly prosperyte, can neuer
florysch in the hiest degre.

L. is comforted
with the con-
fession that all
may get to
heaven.

28. *Lvpset*.—Wel, *Master Pole*, thys yet comfortyth
me meruelouse much, that you say *and* playnly confesse,
that both euery man partycular *and* also the hole com-
mynalty, though hyt be here oppressyd wyth al wordly
1336 aduersyte, yet they may attayn to the hy[e]st felycyte
in the lyfe *to come.

[* Page 106.]

Of which *Pole*
says there is no
doubt, perhaps
because it is so
hard and
dangerous to use
this worldly
prosperity; in
which he differs
from common
men.

29. *Pole*.—Of that ther ys no dowte, *and*, *per-*
auenture, the rather bycause hyt ys so hard *and* so ful
of peryl *and* daunger to vse thys wordly prosperyte; for
in thys I haue contrary opynyon to the commyn sorte of
men, wych juge hyt more hard vpryghtly to bere aduer-
syte then wel to vse prosperyte. But I thynke they

¹ MS. *and and*

consydur not they manyfold occasyonys of ruine, *and* 1344
 fallng from the trade of vertue, wych they haue dayly
and hourly before theyr yes, wych be inhaunsyd in
 wordly prosperyte; they loke only to the payn *and* trow-
 bul, wherwyth they be oppressyd wythal, wych be in 1348
 aduersyte; *and* such thyngys, bycause they are but few
 in nombur, may other, as they juge, much more esely
 be borne, or more sone avoydyd. But how so euer hyt
 be, we wyl not now dyspute, but turne to our purpos,
 takng thys as sure, bycause we seke the most perfayt 1353
 state in any cuntrey *and* true commyn wele. We may
 not only haue regard of the lyfe to come, but also of
 thys here present, procuryng euermore such thyngys
 as perteyne to the mayntenance therof, with al gud
 cyuylyte, to the intent that we here, wel vsyng thys
 wordly prosperyte, may, at the last, attayne to suche
 end *and* perfectyon as, by the prouydence of God, ys
 ordeynyd to the excellent nature *and* dygnyte of man.
 And so now, to make schort, *Master Lypset*, you haue 1362
 hard what ys the veray *and* true commyn wele in any
 cuntrey, cyty, or towne, *and* what ys the most per-
 fayt state therof; the wych, as I sayd at *the begyn-
 nyng, yf al men knew *and* ponderyd ryght wel, they
 wold not so much regard the[r] pryuat wele as the[y] 1367
 dow; they wold not so study theyr owne destructyon.
 For thys ys sure (as now you playnly see *and* clerly
 perceyue) that ouermuch regard of pryuat wele,
 plesure *and* profyt, ys the manyfest destructyon of al
 gud, publyke, *and* iuste commyn pollycy. For euen
 lyke as maryners, when they be intent *and* gyuen to
 theyr vayn pastyme *and* syngular plesure, hauyng no
 regard to the course of theyr schype, oft-tymys be,
 other by sodayn tempest ouerwhelmyd *and* drownyd 1376
 in the see, or by neelygence run apon some roke, to
 the hole destructyon bothe of themselfe *and* of al other
 caryd in theyr schyp; so in a cuntrey, cyte, or towne,

We must regard
 not only the
 future life,
 but the present
 as well,

using our
 prosperity ac-
 cording to the
 excellent dignity
 of man.

[* Page 107.]

Over-much
 regard for
 private pleasure
 and private good
 is the destruction
 of the public
 good, and
 destroys the
 whole state.

1380 when euery man regardyth only hys owne profyte, welth,
and plesure, wythout respecte of the profyt of the hole,
 they shortly fal in dekey, ruyne, *and* destructyon ; *and*
 so at the last, perceyuyng theyr owne folly, then, when

1384 hyt ys to late, they begyn to lament. Wherfor, vndowt-

Men commonly
 are so blinded
 by their own
 pleasures and
 profits,
 that they never
 consider the
 public good.
 They never
 remember that
 their own de-

[* Page 108.]
 struction must
 follow their own
 deeds.
 No man willingly
 hurts himself.

Man is blind and
 esteems ill to
 be good,
 and good ill,

which is the
 foundation of all
 error and vice.

ydly, thys ys a *certain* *and* sure truthe, that men *commynly* are so blyndyd wyth syngular profyt and vayn plesure, that they neuer consydur thys *commyn* wele ; thoughe they speke of hyt neuer so much, they neuer conceyue how theyr owne destructyon ys secretly couplyd to theyr owne actys *and* dedys ; for yf they dyd, surely they *wold not suffur themselfe so to erre, *and* so to run [to] theyr owne ruyne. For thys ys a sure ground, that no man wyttyng *and* wylling wyl hurt hymselfe, nor desyre hys owne destructyon. But euer, by the colowr of gud *and* schadow of truth, man ys blyndyd, dysceyuyd, *and* into ignoraunce lad, *and* so by corrupt iugement, extymyth yl to be gud *and* gud to be yl ; wych ys, as you haue hard before at large, the fountayn *and* spryng of al errour *and* vyce, *and* of al mysordur

1400 in mannys lyfe, bothe pryuat *and* publyke ; the wyche thyng, when hyt ouerrunnyth hole natyonys *and* pepul, vttraly destroyth al cyuyle lyfe *and* polytyke rule. For ther can rayne no gud pollycy wher the iugement of the pepul ys corrupt by false opynyon ; wherby they iuge that euery man doth wel when he only regardyth hys

There can be no
 good where the
 people are
 corrupted by
 false opinion.

1406 owne plesure *and* profyt, wythout any respecte had of any other. But (as I haue sayd, *and* oft dow reherse) yf men knew that when they loke to the *commyn* profyt, that they therwyth also regard theyr owne syngular *and* pryuate, surely they wold not so neelygently loke

1411 thervnto, as hyt ys *commynly* seen they now dow. But euen as the *commyn* wele ys in euery mannys mouth, so also hyt schold be fyxyd in theyrhartys ; hyt schold be the end *of al theyr cogytatyonys, conseyls, *and* carys. For euen as gud marynerys, when they, by theyr

The public good
 should be not
 only in every
 man's mouth,
 [* Page 109.]
 but also in every
 man's heart ;
 it should be the

craft *and* dylygence, bryng theyr schype saue out of tempestys into the sure port *and* hauen, dow not only saue other beyng in theyr schype but themselfe also, so cytyzys¹ in any cuntrey, cyte, or towne, when they, by prudent pollycy, maynteyn cyuyle ordur *and* gud rule, euer setting forward the veray *and* true commyn wele, dow not only saue other wych be vnder the same gouernaunce *and* state, but also themselfe. For, as you see *and* haue hard by many exampullys, in dyuerse cuntreys, cytes, *and* townys, when, by sedycyon *and* necligence of rularys, the cyuyle ordur *and* polytyke rule of the hole body ys onys broken *and* turnyd vp so downe therwyth by *and* by, peryschyth the pryuate wele of euery man; no one can long enioy plesure or quyetnes, where the hole ys dysturbyd *and* put out of ordur. Therfor thys ys as euydent as the schynnyng of the sone, that in the regard euer of the true *and* commyn wele ys conteynyd also the regard of the pryuate. Wherfor now, Master Lypset, seyng that we haue somewhat *declaryd what ys the veray true commyn wele, wherein hyt stoundyth, *and* when hyt most floryschyth, let vs go forth to the rest of our communycatyon, purposyd at the begynnyng, as you thynke best.

30. Lypset.—Yes, Sir, I thynke hyt now veray gud; for you haue in the fyrst satysfyd me ryght wel. And I dowte no thyng but yf men wold wel, al that you haue sayd, consydur *and* pondur, ther wold be more regard of the commyn wele here in our cuntrey then ther ys in dede. For me semyth playnly wyth vs euery man, vnder the pretens[e and] colour of the commyn wele, regardyth the syngular, by the reson wherof our cuntrey lyth rude, no thyng brough[t] to such cyuylte as hyt myght be by gud pollycy. Wherfor I fere me sore, lest hyt be almost impossybul to stabul *and* set such a commyn wele among vs here in Englund as you

end of all their thoughts and all their cares. As a mariner who brings his ship safe into port, preserves his own life and the lives of others; so in the State, if a man saves others he saves himself likewise.

1425

1430

Pole has thus declared what is
[* Page 110.]
the true commonwealth, in what it consists, and wherein it flourishes.

1438

L. is quite satisfied, and thinks if men would consider what has been said, there would be more regard for the commonwealth than there is.

He wishes our country were brought to as great civility as it might be by good policy.

1450

¹ Not crossed out; but the word "rularys" written above.

1451 haue before descrybyd ; al thyngys be here so fer out of
ordur, so fer out of forme.

P. cannot see
why there should
be so much
amiss,

31. **Pole.**—Wel, *Master Lvpset*,¹ by lykelyhode
you se much amys that you be in so grete desperatyon
before we begyn. How be hyt, I se no cause wy you

1456 schold so be ; for nother the place here of our cuntrey
nor pepul themselfe be so rude of nature but they may

[* Page 111.]

be brough[t] * wel to al gud cyuylyte. Troth hyt ys
that you say, as yet they are fer from that ordur *and*
such state as we haue descrybyd ; for many *and* grete
fautys ther be reynyng among vs here in our cuntrey

1462 *and* commynalty, wych now remayne in the second
place to be sought *and* tryed out. Wherin now, also,

and proposes now
to "spy out" the
common faults,
that some means
may be found to
restore the
country, and
reform it accord-
ing to examples
named before.

Master Lvpset, you must put to your dylygence, that
we may togyddur bettur spye out the commyn fautys
and mysordurys therin ; that so at the last we may,
peraventure, fynd some mean to restore our cuntrey to
hyr commyn wele agayne, *and*, as nere as may be,
reformyng hyt to the exampul that we haue *prescrybyd*

1470 before, wych schalbe to vs euer as a rule to examyn the
rest of our communycatyon by.

In this Lvpset
will help all he
can.

32. **Lvpset.**—*Sir*, to thys gud purpos that you now
haue conceyuyd, I schal helpe *and* set forward the best
that I can. But, I pray you now, bycause hyt ys late,
and thys mater ys large, let vs dyffer hyt tyl to-morow,
and the mean tyme we may deuyse wyth ourselfys
some thyng therof.

They adjourn
till to-morrow.

33. **Pole.**—*Master Lvpset*, you say ryght wel, *and*
1479 so let hyt be.

¹ MS. *le*,

[CHAPTER III.]

1. [*Pole.*] Now, aftur that we haue somewhat declaryd what ys a veray commyn wele in euery cuntry conuenient to the nature of man, lyuyng in cyuyle lyfe *and* polytyke ordur, hyt schalbe expedyent for vs (lokyng therto euer as to our marke to schote at, *and* to the end of al conseyllys *and* parlyamentys in any commynalty assemblyd togyddur here in *thys our owne cuntry) to seke out wyth dylygence, *and* by reson to try, such fautys *and* mysordurys as appere to let the setting forth of thys commyn wele, *and* be occasyons that hyt can not prosper *and* florysch, but rather fal into ruine *and* dekey. For lyke as to physycyons lytyl hyt awaylyth to know the body, complexyon therof, *and* most perfayt state, except they also can dyscerne *and* juge al kynd of syknes *and* dysseassys wych commynly destroy the same; so to vs now thys vnyuersal *and* scolastycal¹ consyderatyon of a veray *and* true commyn wele lytyl schal profyte *and* lytyl schal awayle, except we also truly serch out al commyn fautys *and* general mysordurys, wych, as sykenes *and* dyseassys, be manyfest impedyments, *and* vturly repugne to the mayntenance of the same. Let vs therfor now, Master Lvpset, to thys purpos now, in the second place, wyth al dylygence ernystely apply our myndys:

2. Lvpset.—*Sir*, you say wel, for dylygence in al thyng doth much gud. How be hyt, in thys mater me semyth hyt ys not so gretely to be requyryd; for, as hyt ys commynly sayd, much easyar hyt ys to spy ij fautys then amend one. Specyally to them wych haue hard the descriptyon of a commyn wele, aftur the

P. says after defining a commonwealth suitable to the nature of man in a civil state, it is expedient to seek out and reason upon the faults which hinder such a common-
[* Page 112.] wealth, and bring it in the end to ruin and decay.

10

It avails physicians little to know the perfect state of the body if they cannot judge of the sicknesses and diseases of it; and our consideration will avail little except we diligently search out the faults of the commonwealth.

21

25

L. thinks there is little diligence required, as it is "easier to spy two faults than amend one;" especially after such a description of the commonwealth as we have had.

¹ "philosophical" is written over this word.

The decay of the country is evident
[* Page 113.]
to all :

ruined towns,
and poor
inhabitants ;
fields lying waste
and untilled,
which have been
fruitful, and
might be made
so again ;

the ill manners
of the people and
their living,
as far from
civility as vice is
from virtue ;
all are as clear
as day.

- 32 maner before schowyd, hyt ys not hard to see the mysordurys here in our cuntrey, nor to spye the grete dekey of such a commyn wele wych you haue so manyfestely descrybyd ;—hyt ys so open to euery mannys ye. For who can be so blynd or obstynate to deny the grete dekey, fautys, *and* mysordurys, he[re] of our commyn *wele ; other when he lokyth upon our cytes, castellys, *and* townys, of late days ruynate *and* fallen downe, wyth such pore inhabytans dwellyng therin ; or when he lokyth upon the ground, so rude *and* so wast, wych, by dylygence of pepul, hath byn before tyme occupyd *and* tylyd, *and*¹ myght be yet agayn brought to some bettur profyt *and* vse ; or yet, aboue al, when he lokyth vnto the manerys of our pepul *and* ordur of lyuyng, wych ys as ferre dystant from gud *and* perfayt cyuylyte, as gud from yl, *and* vyce from vertue *and* al honesty ? Thys ys as clere as the lyght of the day ; *and*, as me semyth, nedyth, therfor, of no long processe for the declaryng therof, nor yet much dylygence to the in-serchyng of the same.
- 51

P. doesn't think it quite so clear, and cannot agree that it requires so little diligence.

Without it we might call that a fault which is not one.

3. *Pole*.—Wel, Master Lvpset, thys mater ys not al on't so clere as you make hyt, nor requyryth not so lytyl dylygence as you seme to make hyt. For we may, *perauentur*, other a the one syde, to stretly juge or naroly examyn the hole mater, laying ther faut wher as non ys ; callyng that mysordur *and* yl gouernance, wych ys indede gud *and* perfayt pollycy ; or els, of the other syde (blyndyd wyth affectyon, as *commynly* men be, with the manerys of theyr cuntrey) contrary, cal that playn gud *and* gentyl cyuylyte wych in dede ys rudenes *and* rustycyte. Wherfor, of thys we must chesely beware, *and* dylygently take hede, lest therby

He urges caution lest we be deceived.

- 64 we dyseeyue not² our selfe.³

¹ This word has been crossed out in the MS.

² This word is not marked through in MS.

³ This sentence stood originally as follows :—"of thys we must beware, and dyseeyue not our selfe."

4. *Lvpset.*—*Sir*, as for thys mater, I trust we schal 65
 ryght wel avoyd ; for I promys you that, for my parte, I
 wyl be loth, in our communycatyon, to be so iniust to L. promises not
 to be unjust,
 our * owne cuntrey, to admyt any such thyngys for [* Page 114.]
 fautys *and* mysordurys wych in dede be non at al. For
 the escheuyng of thys I wylbe dylygent, *and* suffur and will give all
 a fair examina-
 tion.
 few thyngys to passe vnexamynyd wherever schal
 appere any dowte vnto me. 72

5. *Pole.*—I pray you so to dow, *and* to put me also
 in remembrance of such fautys as you haue notyd your
 selfe, *and* by long tyme obseruyd here in our cuntrey,
 wych you schal perauenture see me ouerrun *and*, by
 neelygence, let pas.

6. *Lvpset.*—*Sir*, in thys behalfe, I assure you, I 78
 wylbe as dylygent as y can.

7. *Pole.*—Wel, then, let vs now go forward in the
 mater ; wherin, fyrst, you schal vnderstond that I wyl
 not speke of euery partycular faute *and* mysordur in
 euery mannys lyfe here in our cuntrey,—for that were
 a mater infynyte, *and* nothyng mete for our purpos 84
 intendyd ; but I wyl speke only of the general fautys
and mysordurys *and* vnyuersal dekeys of thys commyn
 wele, wych by commyn counseyle *and* gud pollycey
 may be redressyd, reformyd, *and* brought to gud
 cyuylyte. And, fyrst (this processe vsyng) I wyl
 speke of such as I schal fynd in the polytyke body of
 thys our commynalty *and* reame ; second, I wyl seke
 out *and* inserch such as schal appere to me in thyngys
 necessary *and* commodouse for the mayntenance of the 93
 same body ; thyrddly, I schal touch such fautys *and*
 mysordurys as I schal fynd * in the polytyke ordur,
 rule, *and* gouernance of thys body, growen in by abuse
and lake of gud pollycey. Thys schalbe the ordur *and*
 processe of our communycatyon thys day to be had.

8. *Lvpset.*—*Sir*, thys lykyth me wel ; *and* aftur 99

¹ In margin of MS.

methodus futu-
 rorum.¹

100 thys maner now preserybyd, I pray you go forward.

P. notes a weakness in the body politic, arising from a lack of people.

tabes in corpore.¹
ὁλιγαριθρωπία.¹
Just as a man's body does not thrive when it is feeble, but falls away;

so every country, city, and town, does not prosper when, for lack of men, it falls: as we have had much experience in late days.

Cities and towns in times past were much better inhabited than they now are.

[* Page 116.]

Many villages now are utterly decayed, and where Christians were some time ago nourished, are now only wild beasts.

Where churches were standing to the honour of God, you will only find sheep-cots and stables.

It cannot be doubted that

9. *Pole*.—I am wel content, and, fyrst, thys ys certayn; that, in thys polytyke body, ther ys a certayn sklendurnes, debylyte, *and* wekenes therof, wherby hyt ys let to prosper *and* florysch in hys most per fayt state; the wych I cal *and* note to be groundyd in the lake of pepul *and* skarsenes of men. For lyke as mannys body then doth not florysch, then doth not increse, when hyt ys sklendur, febul, *and* weke, but by lake of flesch fallyth in to sykenes *and* debylyte; so euery cuntrey, cyte, or towne, then doth not florysch, then doth not prosper, when ther ys lake of pepul *and* skasenes of men; by the reson wherof hyt fallyth in to ruyn *and* dekey, slyppying from al gud cunylyte; 114 the experyence wherof we see in late days now in our cuntrey, the wych chefely I attrbyute to the lake of inhabytans. *And* to thys, as me semyth, by many argumentys we may be indueyd; as, fyrst, yf you loke to the cytes *and* townys throughout thys reame, you schal fynd that in tyme past they haue byn much bettur inhabytyd, *and* much more replenyschyd wyth 121 pepul then they be now; for many housys ther you schal se playn ruynat *and* dekeyd, *and* many yet stondyng wythout any tenantys *and* inhabytantys of the same. Wherby playnly ys perceyuyd, after myn opynyon, 125 the grete lake of pepul *and* skarsenes of men. *And*, ferther, *yf you loke to the vyllagys of the cuntrey throughout thys lond, of them you schal fynd no smal nombur vturly dekeyd; *and* ther, wher as befor tyme hath byn nurysechyd much gud *and* Chrystyan pepul, now you schal fynd no thyng maynteynyd but wyld *and* brute bestys; *and* ther, wher hath byn many housys *and* churchys, to the honowre of God, now you schal fynd no thyng but selhyceotys *and* stabullys, to the ruyne of man; *and* thys ys not in one place or ij, but generally throughout thys reame. Wherfor hyt ys

¹ In margin of MS.

not to be dowtyd, but that thys dekey, both of cytes *and* townys, *and* also of vyllagys, in the hole cuntrey, declaryth playnly a lake of pepul *and* skarsenes of men.

such decay arises from lack of people.

Besyd this, the dekey of craftys in cytes *and* townys (wych we se manyfestely in euery place) schowyth also, as me semyth, a plain lake of pepul. Moreouer, the

Crafts also have decayed in cities and in towns.

141

ground wych lyth in thys reame vntyllyd *and* brought to no profyt nor vse of man, but lyth as barren, or to the nuryschyng of wyld bestys, me thynkyth could not ly long aftur such maner yf ther were not lake of pepul *and* skarsenes of men. For yf hyt were so replenyshyd

The waste lands show a scarceness of people;

wyth pepul as other cuntreys be, the wast groundys (as hethys, forestys, parkys *and* oldys¹) schold not ly so rude *and* vntyllyd as they be; but schold be brought to some profyt *and* vse, accordyng to the nature of the ground, *wych, wythout fayle, by dyly-

for if it were full of people, forests, parks, and wolds would not remain untilld.

150

[* Page 117.]

gence *and* labur of man, myght wel be brought to tyllage *and* vse. For the ground ys not of hyt selfe, as many men thynke, by nature so barren, but that, yf hyt were dylygently laburyd, hyt wold bryng forth frute for the nuryschyng of man; wych ys by experyence

The land is not barren by nature, as some men think;

156

in many placys prouyd, here of late days, where as ground jugyd to be barren *and* rude, ys by dylygent men brought to tyllage *and* frute. Therfor that we haue so much wast ground here in our cuntrey, hyt ys not to be attrIBUTE to the nature of the erthe, aftur my mynd, but only to the lake of pepul *and* skarsenes of men, wych, as wel by the ruine of cytes *and* townys, as by dekey of facultes, lernyng, *and* craftys, may playnly be perceyuyd. Wherfor I thynke we may surely affyrme thys faute *and* sykenes playnly to rayne in our polytyke body.

it only requires men to till it, and then it would bring forth abundantly, as experience proves.

164

The body politic is sick.

10. **Lvpset.**—Sir, as touchyng thys matter, I pray you suffur me to say my mynd therin; for your argumentys dow not suffyeyently persuade me.

L. doubts this,

11. **Pole.**—Mary, that was agred at the begynnyng

171

¹ This word has "playnys" written over it.

172 for the bettur examynatyon of euery thyng; therfor say on.

and thinks all this ruin and decay prove idleness only.
[* Page 118.]

12. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, me semyth thys ruyn of cytes and townys, thys dekey of craftys in euery place, thys rudenes and barrennes of the ground, arguth no *thyng

177 the skarsenes of pepul, but rather the neelygent idulnes of the same. For yf a cuntrey were neuer so populos and replenyschyd wyth pepul, yet yf they were euer neelygent and idul in the same, neuer intendyng to profytabul exerceyse, ther schold be no les dekey of

No matter how populous a country is, if the people are idle, it must decay.

182 artys and craftys, wyth no les ruyn of cytes and townys, then ther ys now here wyth vs, as you say. Wherfor hyt apperyth playnly to me, that thys ys no sure profe nor argument to your purpos; speecyally seyng that, contrary, me semyth, we haue here in our cuntrey rather to many pepul then to few; in so much that vytel and nuryschment suffycient for them can skant here be found, but for lake therof many perysch and dye, or at the lest lyue veray wrechydly. Wher-

He thinks we have too many people rather than too few; there are more people than there is food to sustain them.

191 for, lyke as we say comynly, a pastur ys ouerlayd wyth catel, when therin be mo then may be conueniently nuryschyd and fed; so in a cuntrey, cyty, or towne, ther ys of pepul to grete multytude, when ther ys of vytayl ouerlytyl for the necessary sustenans and maynteynyng of the same. And so I can not se wy we schold lay any grete faute in the lake of pepul here in our cuntrey; but rather, such fautys as you fynd, attrIBUTE to the neelygence of the same.

He cannot see any fault arising from a lack of people.

200 13. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, you say wel. I perceyue by you that you wyl not let the materys pas vtturnly vnexamynynd. How be hyt, yf you compare our cuntrey now, other wyth hyt selfe, in such state as hyt hath byn in tyme past, other els wyth other cuntreys, wych be by nature no more plentyful then thys, and yet nurysch much more pepul then doth ourys, I can not se but you must *nedys confesse a lake of pepul

P. asks him to compare the country now with what it had been in times past,

here in our cuntrey. For thys ys no dowte, in tyme past 208
 many mo haue byn nuryschyd therin, *and* the cuntrey
 hath byn more populos, then hyt ys now. *And* thys ys
 les dowte, that other cuntreys in lyke space or les, dothe
 susteyn much more pepul then dothe thys [of] ourys ;
 wych ys esy to be perceyuyd by the multytude of cytes,
 castellys, *and* townys, wych be wel inhabytyd *and* re-
 plenyschyd wyth pepul in fer gretur nombur then our
 cuntrey ys ; as you may see both in France, Flaundes,
 Almayn, *and* Italy. Therfor hyt *can* not be denyd but 217
 here ys much lake of pepul *and* skarsenes of men. *And*
 yet troth thys ys also that you say, that yf we had neuer
 so many pepul here in our cuntrey, yf they same lyuyd
 oueridul *and* necligent, we schold haue no les dekey
 of cytes *and* townys then we haue now. But, Master 222
 Lvpset, thoughe hyt be so that we haue her in our cun-
 trey much idul pepul, *and*, as I thynke, in no cuntrey
 of the world such a multytude, yet they be not so idul
 that we must of necessity attribute both the ruine of
 cytes *and* townys, *and* al the dekey of artys *and* craftys,
 only to the idulnes *and* necligence of pepul. Trothe 228
 hyt ys, that yf our pepul were al dylygent *and* wel oc-
 cupyd wyth honest exerceyse, our cuntrey schold, wythout
 fayle, stond in bettur case then hyt doth, as we schal at
 large hereaftur in hys place open *and* declare. *And* yet
 thys ys troth also, that nother of idul nor yet of wel 233
 occupyd, we haue such a nombur as ys conuenient to
 the nature of the place. Thys ys certayn *and* sure, that
 yf our cuntrey were *wel occupyd *and* tylyd, hyt wold
 nurysch suffyeyently many mo pepul then hyt doth
 now. *And* as touchyng the skarsenes of vytayl wych
 you allegyd, that no thyng prouyth ouergrete nombur
 of pepul, but rather the gret necligens of thes wych we
 haue ; as I schal playnly schow you hereaftur, when we
 schal serch out the cause *and* ground of al such penury
and skarsenes of vytayl *and* sustenans for the pepul here 243

or with other countries, which in less space support more people than ours, as may easily be seen by their cities, castles, and towns.

There are many idle people in the country—more than in any other in the world,—but all the ruin cannot be attributed to them.

If they were well occupied, the country would, no doubt, stand better than it now does.

If the land were tilled it would [* Page 120.] sustain more people, and scarceness of food only shows the negligence of the people, not their great numbers.

244 in our cuntrey lately growen in. Let vs therfor take
 Pole insists upon this lack of people, which he compares to a consumption of man's body,
 thys as a certayn *and* playn truth, that here in our cuntrey ther ys a lake of pepul, *and* confesse thys dysease to be in our polytyke body, wych may wel, as me semyth, be comparyd to a consumptyon, or grete sklen-
 249 durnes of mannys body. For lyke as in a consumptyon, when the body ys brought to a gret sklendurnes, ther ys lake of powar *and* strength to maynteyne the helth of the same; so in a cuntrey, cyty, or towne, wher ther ys lake of pepul, ther wantyth powar to maynteyne the floryschyng state of the polytyke body, *and* so hyt fallyth into manyfest dekey, *and* by lytyl *and* lytyl wornyth away; as we may se in al cuntreys wych haue byn replenyschyd wyth pepul *and* wel inhabytyd in old tyme; as Egypt, Asia, *and* Greece, wych, destroyd by
 259 warrys, now, for lake of pepul, be desolate *and* deserte, fallen into ruyn *and* commyn dekey. So that thys lake of pepul, not wythout cause, may wel be callyd *the fyrst frute *and* ground of the ruyn of al commyn welys; *and*, as I haue sayd, can not be denyd here from ours, yf we loke to the nature of the place, *and* to the auneynt
 265 state here of the same.

[* Page 121.]

L. cannot deny but that this country has been more populous than it is now.

P. says there is another disease in this body politic, besides lack of people—that is, the number of idle and ill-occupied people.

14. **Lvpset.**—Sir, indede, as you say, when I loke to the cytes *and* townys *and* vyllagys in the cuntrey, I can not deny but ther hath byn more pepul here in our cuntrey then ther ys now. Wherfor, wythout ferther cauyllyatyon, agreyng apon thys, let vs go forward.

15. **Pole.**—Wel, then, let vs consydyr *and* behold how that, besyde thys lake of pepul, ther ys, also, in thys polytyke body, a nother dysease *and* syknes more greuous then thys, *and* that ys thys (schortly to say):—A grete parte of thes pepul wych we haue here in our cuntrey, ys other ydul or yl occupyd, *and* a smal nombur of them
 277 exereysyth themselfe in dowyng theyr offyce *and* duty perteynyng to the mayntenance of the commyn wele; by the reson wherof thys body ys replenyschyd *and* ouer-

fulfyllid wyth many yl humorys, wych I cal idul *and* πλεθωρία.¹
vnprofytabul personys, of whome you schal fynd a grete 281

nombur, yf you wyl a lytyl consydur al statys, ordurys, *and* degres, here in our cuntrey. Fyrst, loke what an idul route our nobul men kepe *and* nurysch in theyr housys, wych do no thyng els but cary dyschys to the tabul *and* ete them when they haue downe; and aftur, gyuyng themselfe to huntyng, haukyng, dysyng, cardyng, *and* al other idul pastymys *and* vayne, as though they were borne to no thyng els at al. Loke to our

Look at the idle rout kept by the nobles, only to carry dishes to the table and eat them afterwards; spending the rest of their time in games.

byschoppys *and* prelatys of the reame, whether they folow not the same trade in nuryschyng* such an idul sort, spendyng theyr possessyonys *and* godys, wych were to them gyuen to be dystribut among them wych were oppressyd wyth pouerty *and* necessity. Loke, ferther-

288
The bishops, canons, priests, monks, and friars are as bad, [* Page 122.]

spending all their possessions, instead of distributing them among the poor.

more, to prestys, monkys, frerys, *and* chanonys, wyth al theyr adherenty *and* idul trayn, *and* you schal fynd also among them no smal nombur idul *and* vnprofytabul, wych be nothyng but burdenys to the erthe. In so much that yf you, aftur thys maner, examyn the multytude in euery ordur *and* degre, you schal fynd, as I thynke, 300

the thryd parte of our pepul luyng in idulnes, as personys to the commyn wele vturly vnprofytabul; *and* to al gud cyuylyte, much lyke vnto the drowne bees in a hyue, wych dow no thyng els but consume *and* deuoure al such thyng as the besy *and* gud be, wyth dylygence *and* labur, gedduyryth togeddur.

295

A third part of the people live in idleness, like drone bees.

305

16. *Lvpset.*—Master Pole, me semyth you examyn thys mater somewhat to schortely, as though you wold haue al men to labur, to go to the plowgh, *and* exercyse some craft, wych ys not necessary. For our mother the ground ys so plentuous *and* bountyful by the gudnes of God *and* of nature gyuen to hyr, that wyth lytyl labur *and* tyllage sche wyl suffyeyently nurysch mankynd, 313
non otherwyse then sche doth al bestys, fyschys, *and*

L. does not think it necessary that all men should labour, because the earth is so bounteous; she supports beasts, fishes, and fowls, without labour.

¹ In margin of MS.

315 foullys, wych are brede *and* brought vp apon hyr; to
 [* Page 123.] whome we *se sche mynystryth fode wyth lytyl labur
 or non, but of hyr owne frendly benygnyte. Wherfor
 yf a few of our pepul besy themselfe, *and* labur
 therin, hyt ys suffeycent; the rest may lyue in try-
 umphe, at lyberty, *and* ease, fre from al bodyly labour

If a few men
work the rest
may live in
idleness.

321 *and* payn.

To t' is P.
answers that man
was not born to
live in idleness
and pleasure,
but to labour;

17. **Pole.**—Thys ys spoken, *Master Lupset*, euen as
 though you jugyd man to be borne for to lyue in idulnes
and plesure, al thyng referring *and* applyng therto.
 But, *Sir*, hyt ys no thyng so; but, *contrary*, he ys borne
 to labur *and* trauayle, aftur the opynyon of the wyse

327 ¹*and* aunceyent antyquyte,¹ non other wyse then a byrd
 to fle; *and* not to lyue (as *Homer* sayth some dow) as an
 vnprofytabul weyght *and* burden of the erth. For man
 ys borne to be as a *gouernour*, rular, *and* dylygent
 tyllar *and* inhabytant of thys erthe; as some, by labur
 of body, to procure thyngys necessary for the mayn-
 tenance of mannys lyfe; some, by wysdome *and* pollycey,
 to kepe the rest of the multytude in gud ordur *and*
 cyuylte. So that non be borne to thys idulnes *and*
 vanyte, to the wych the most parte of our pepul ys much
 gyuen *and* bent; but al to exerceyse themselfe in some
 faseyon of lyue conuenyent to the dygnyte *and* nature
 of man. Wherfor, though hyt be so, that hyt ys no
 thyng necessary al to be laburarys *and* tyllarys of the
 ground, but some to be prestys *and* mynysturys of
 Goddys Word, some to be gentylmen to the gouernance
 of the rest, *and* some seruantyts to the *same; yet thys
 ys certayn, that ouergrete nombur of them, wythout dew

to be a governor,
ruler, and tiller
of the earth;
some by labour
of body to pro-
cure food;
some by wisdom
and policy to keep
the rest in order;
none are born
to idleness and
vanity, but to
exerceise them-
selves in some
manner suitable
to the dignity of
man.
It is not neces-
sary that all
should be tillers
of the ground;
there must be
priests,
governors, and
servants, but all
[* Page 124.]
in due proportion.

345 proportyon to the other partys of the body, ys super-
 fluous in any *commynalty*. Hyt ys not to be dowtyd
 but that here in our cuntrey of thos sortys be ouer-
 many, *and* specyally of them wych we cal *seruyng men*,
 wych lyue in *seruyce* to gentylmen, lordys, *and* other of

There are too
many serving-
men, more than
in any other
country.

¹—¹ “*philosopharys*,” was originally written here.

the nobylte. Yf you loke throughout the world, as I 350
thynke, you schal not fynd in any one cuntrey, propor-
tionabul to ours, lyke nombur of that sorte.

18. **Lvpset.**—Mary, Sir, that ys troth, wherin, me
semyth, you prayse our cuntrey veray much ; for in
them stondyth the royalty of the reame. Yf the yeo-
manry of Englund were not, in tyme of warre we schold
be in schrode ease ; for in them stondyth the chefe
defence of Englund.

L. looks upon
this as matter
of praise.

We should be in
a "shrewd case"
were it not for
the yeomanry.

358

19. **Pole.**—O, Master Lvpset, you take the mater
amys. In them stondyth the beggary of Englund ; by
them ys nuryschyd the commyn theft therin, as here
aftur at large I schal declare. How be hyt, yf they were
exereysyd in featys of armys, to the defence of the reame
in tyme of warr, they myght yet be much bettur suffryd.
But you se how lytyl they be exereysyd therin, in so
much that, in tyme of warr, hyt ys necessary for our plow-
men and laburarys of the cuntrey to take wepun in
hand, or els we were not lyke long to inyoy Englund ;
so lytyl trust ys to be put in theyr *featys and dedys.

P. says he takes
the matter amiss :

if the yeomanry
were well exer-
cised in the art
of war they
might be suffered ;
but they are not,
and in time of
war plowmen and
labourers are
needed to fight,
or we should
soon lose
Englund.

[*Page 125.]

Wherfor dowte you no more but of them (lyke as of
other that I haue spoke of before,—as of prestys, frerys, 371
munkys, and other callyd relygyouse) we haue ouer-
many, wych altogyddur make our polytyke body vnweldy
and heuy, and, as hyt were, to be greuyd wyth grosse
humorys ; in so much that thys dysease therin may wel
be comparyd to a dropey in mannys body. For lyke as
in a dropey the body ys vnweldy, vnlusty, and slo, no
thyng quyke to moue, nother apte nor mete to any
maner of exereyse, but, solne wyth yl humorys, lyth
idul and vnprofytabul to al vtward labur ; so ys a com-
mynalty, replenyschyd wyth neelygent and idul pepul,
vnlusty and vnweldy, nothyng quyke in the exereyse
of artys and craftys, wherby hyr welth schold be mayn-
tenyd and supportyd ; but, solne wyth such yl humorys,

375

dropey.¹
He compares the
idle people to a
dropsy in the
body, which
makes it un-
wieldy and full
of ill humours ;
and so is a coun-
try full of idle
and negligent
people.
It is not quick
in arts and crafts,
by which her
wealth is main-
tained, but it

¹ In margin of MS.

overruns with
vice.

This is the
mother of many
diseases.

389 gretyst destructyon of the commyn wele therin that
may be deuysyd.

L. says it can't
be denied ;
but go on.

20. **Lvpset.**—Wel, Syr, thys ys so manyfest that hyt
may not be denyd. Wherfor let vs procede wythout
delay to the sekyng of other, aftur your denyse. [How
be hyt, thys dysease semyth to repugne to the¹ other,

395 for one schowyth to few, *and* the other to many.²]

P. explains what
he means by the
"ill-occupied ;"

[* Page 126.]

they are such as
occupy them-
selves with the
newest fashions ;
in procuring
ornaments of
dress ;

tremor partium.³

407 wyth al thyng perteynyng therto ; *and* al such wych
make *and* procure manyfold *and* dyuerse new kyndys
of metys *and* drynkys, *and* euer be occupyd in curyouse
deuyse of new fangulyd thyngys concernyng the vayn
plesure only of the body. Wyth al such as be callyd

or in making and
singing new
songs, which tend
only to vanity.
Merchants who
carry out neces-
saries and bring
in trifles are
ill-occupied, as
are many others.

syngyng men, curyouse descanterys *and* deuysarys of
new songys, wych tend only to vanyte ; *and* al such
marchantys wych cary out thyngys necessary to the vse
of our pepul, *and* bryng in agayn vayn tryfullys *and* con-
ceytys, only for the folysch pastyme *and* plesure of man.

¹ MS. to the to other.

²⁻² The words enclosed in brackets are written at the foot
of the page ; but without any reference as to where they
should go in the text.

³ In margin of MS.

Al such, I say, *and* of thys sort many other, I note as 417
 personys yl occupyd, *and* to the commyn wele vnpro-
 fytabul.

22. **Lvpset.**—Sir, in thys mater also, me semyth,
 you are a iuge of to much seueryte; for you wold haue
 no thyng suffryd in a commynalty but that only wych
 ys necessary; *and* so by thys mean take al plesure from
 man, *and* al ornamentys from euery commyn wele *and*
 cyte. For such men as you now cal yl-occupyd per-
 sonys, as me semyth, are occupyd in the procuring ther-
 of; that ys to say, of such thyngys as *pertheynyth* to the
 ornamentys of the commyn wele in euery cuntrey.

L. thinks Pole
 too severe;

he objects to all
 pleasures and all
 ornaments being
 taken away from
 man.

Such men as are
 said to be ill-
 occupied are
 engaged in pro-
 viding these
 things.

P. does not want
 to confine man to
 bare necessities,

[* Page 127.]

23. **Pole.**—Master Lvpset, you take me amys; for
 I wold not bryng man to lyue wyth such thyng only
 wych ys necessary, *takyng away al plesure *and* veray
 ornamentys from the commyn wele admyttyd by gud 432
 pollycy, but in bannyschyng such yl-occupyd personys
 as I spake of befor. I wold bannysch also, *and* vtterly
 cast out, al vayn plesure *and* vayn ornamentys by cor-
 rupt iugement *commynly* approuyd, bryngyng in theyr
 place veray true plesure of man *and* they true orna-
 mentys of the veray commyn wele, wherof we spake
 before; wych stondyth nother in the gay apparele of
 the cytyzyns, nother yet in delycate metys *and* drynkys
 nuryschyng the same, nor in non other thyng: in 441
 one word to say, *pertheynyng* to the vayn plesure of
 the body. But veray *and* true plesure restyth only in
 the helth of the body *and* vertues of the mynd; *and*
 they true ornamentys of the commyn wele are foundyd
 in the same, as hereaftur more playnly hyt schal appere.
 Wherfor, I thynke justely I may cal al such yl-occupyd
 personys as be procurarys only of the vayn plesure of
 man, wych no thyng *pertheynyth* to the dygnyte of hys
 nature; of the wych sorte, surely, many we haue here in
 our cuntrey, by whome we may se thys polytyke body

but he would
 banish all the
 ill-occupied
 persons of whom
 he has spoken,
 and cast out all
 vain pleasures
 and ornaments,
 and bring in true
 ones, such as rest
 in the health of
 the body and the
 virtues of the
 mind.

True ornamentys
 of a cuntrey be as
 in euery par-
 ticuler man.¹

Those are justly
 called ill-occupied
 who provide only
 for the vain
 pleasures of man,
 and do nothing
 for that which
 pertains to the
 dignity of his
 nature.

¹ In margin of MS.

They are like a man in a palsy, ever moving and ever seeming to be doing, but always about

[* Page 128.]
such matters as are unprofitable.
Palsy.¹

452 ys also greunusly dyseasyd, *and* much lyke to mammys body trowblyd as hyt were wyth a palsy. For lyke as in a palsy, some partys be euer mouyng *and* schakyng, *and* lyke as they were besy *and* occupyd therwyth, but to no profyt nor plesure of *the body; so in our comynalty, certayn partys ther be wych euer be mouyng *and* sterryng, *and* alway occupyd, but euer about such purpos *and* mater as bryngyth nother profyt nor true
460 plesure to the polytyke body. Wherfor, me semyth, Master Lupset, hyt can not be denyd but that thys ys a nother greunus dysease.

It is true, says
L.; go on.

24. **Lvpset.**—Troth hyt ys, wythout fayle, for many such ther be here in our cuntrey. Let vs, therfor, aftur the course begonne, go forward to other.

P. Another dis-
ease

25. **Pole.**—Syr, yet ther ys a nother dysease remenyng behynd, wych gretely trowblyth the state of the
468 hole body, the wych—though I somewhat stond in dowte whether I may wel cal hyt a dysease of the body or no—yet by cause (as physycyonys say) the body *and* mynd are so knyht togyddur by nature that al sykenes *and* dysease be commyn to them both, I wyl not now
473 stond to reson much herin, but boldly cal hyt a bodyly dysease; *and*, breuely to say, thys hyt ys:—they partys of thys body agre not togyddur; the hed agreth not to the fete, nor fete to the handys; no one parte agreth to other; the temporality grugyth agayn the spirituality, the commyns agayne the nobullys, *and* subyeectys agayn they rularys; one hath enuy at a nother, one beryth malyce agayn another, one complaynyth of a
481 nother. They partys of thys body be not knyht togyddur, as hyt were wyth sp[i]ryt *and* lyfe, in concord *and* vnyte, but dysseueryd asoundur, as they were in no case partys of one body. Thys ys so manyfest hyt nedyth no profe, for sure argumentys therof are dayly amonge vs,
486 both seen *and* hard in euery place. Wherfor of thys

is want of
agreement.

The temporality
grudges against
the spirituality;
commons against
nobles;
subjects against
rulers;

there is no
unity.

¹ In margin of MS.

dysease we nede not ferther to dowte, wych ys open to 487
euery mannys ye.

26. **Lvpset.**—Thys cannot be denyd ; but what dys- L. says it can't
ease wyl you lykkun thys vnto reynnyng in mannys be denied ; but
body, gud Master Pole ? what disease is
it like ?

27. **Pole.**—*Sir*, me semyth hyt may wel be lykkyn- Pestylens.¹
nyd to a pestylence ; for lyke as a pestylens, where so
euer hyt reynnyth, lyghtly, *and* for the most parte, de- A pestilence,
stroyth a *grete nombur of the pepul wythout regard answers Pole,
of any person had, or degre, so doth thys dyscord *and* which regards
debate in a commynalty, where so euer hyt reynnyth, no man.
schortly destroyth al gud ordur *and* cyuylte, *and* vt- [* Page 129.]
turly takyth away al helth from thys polytyke body 496
and tranquyllyte. 500

28. **Lvpset.**—Truly you say wel ; for euen so hyt L. owns this has
hath byn from the begynnyng, I trow, of the world been so from the
vnto thys day. Thys hathe euer byn a grete destructyon beginning of the
to euery commyn wele ; thys hath destroyd more then world.
any pestylens, as Lyuius wrytyth. 505

29. **Pole.**—Wel, thes, Master Lvpset, wych I haue P. says he will
now notyd are the most commyn dyseasys, touchyng, as now speak of the
hyt were, the helth of thys polytyke body, wherof diseases which
speke we fyrst purposyd. Other ther be yet concernyng concern the
the beuty *and* strength of the same, to the wych now beauty and
we wyl dyrect our communycatyon. Ther ys a grete strength of the
mysordur as touchyng the beuty of thys same body, body polittie.
wych fyrst you schal see. The partys of thys body be not 513
proporeyonabul one to a nother : one parte ys to grete, There is a want
a nother to lytyl ; one parte hath in hyt ouermany of proportion ;
pepul, another ouerfew. As, prestys are to many, *and* priests are too
yet gud clerkys to few ; monkys, frerys, *and* chanonys many, and good
are to many ; *and* yet gud relygyouse men to few. clerks too few ;
Prokturys *and* brokarys of both lawys, wych rather deformyte in the
trowbul mennys causys then fynysch them justely, body.¹
are to many ; *and* yet gud mynystrys of justyce are to proctors and
lawyers are too
many, and good
judges too few ;

¹ In margin of MS.

522 few. *Merchantys*, caryng out thyngys necessary for our
 [* Page 130.] owne pepul, are ouermany ; * *and* yet they wych schold
 servants and bryng necessarys are to few. *Seruantys* in mennys
 makers of trifles housys are to many, craftys men *and* makers of tryfullys
 are too many, and craftsmen are to many ; *and* yet gud artyfyeerys be to few ; and oe-
 and tillers too cuppyarys *and* tyllarys of the ground are to few. Aftur
 few. theys maner the partys in propertyon not agreyng, but
 These things hauyng of some to many, *and* of some to few, lene much
 produce a great deformyte.
 530 enomyte, *and* make in thys polytyke body grete *and*
 monstrose deformyte.

30. *Lvpset*.—Thys ys more eydyent then may be
 denyd. Werfor, procede, I pray you, in your com-
 534 munny[catyon].

The body is weaker than in times past, and less able to defend itself against enemies.

31. *Pole*.—Ther ys also in the strenght of thys
 body *perceyuyd* no smal faute. Hyt ys weke *and* febul,
 no thyng so strong as hyt hath byn in tyme past. We
 are now at thys tyme nother so abul to defend our
 539 selfe from iniury of ennemys, nother of other by featys
 of armys to recouer our ryght agayn, as we haue byn
 here before tyme ; wych thyng schold be manyfestely
 knowne by sure experyence, yf occasyon of warre schold
 hyt requyre ; for thys ys certayn *and* playn. Ther was
 neuer so few gud captaynys here in our cuntrey as ther
 be now, nor, as I thynke, neuer so smal nombur of them
 546 wych be exereysyd in dedys *and* featys of armys, in
 whome chefely stondyth the strength of euery cuntrey.

There never were so few good captains as now,

as anybody may see who will compare the state of the realme
 [* Page 131.] now with what
 it was.

Thys ys clere to al them wych wyl consydyr wyth them-
 selfe indyfferently the state of our reame as hyt ys now,
and confer *hyt wythe the old state before, when we
 were dred *and* fearyd of our ennemys *and* cuntreys al
 about. Werfor we nede not to dowte but that our
 553 cuntrey ys now weke, *and* no thyng so strong as hyt
 hath byn in old tyme.

Debylte.¹

L. says this is quite evident.

32. *Lvpset*.²—*Sir*, as touchyng thys, when I re-
 membyr the nobul actys of our aunceuturys, by whose

¹ In margin of MS.

² MS. Le.

powar hath byn subduyd both Skotland *and* Fraunce, I 557
 can not but thynke hyt true that you say, *and* that our
 polytyke body ys not so strong as hyt hath byn in tyme
 past, nor as hyt schold be now of necessity. Wherfor
 I wyl not be obstynate, but playnly confesse our weke-
 nes *and* debylyte. 562

33. **Pole.**—Thes are, *Master* Lupset, the most general
 fautys commyn to the hole body wych now came to my
 mynd as necessary to be spoken of for our purpos here
 at thys tyme. Wherfor now a lytyl we wyl examyn

the fautys wych we schal fynde sundry in the *partys*,
 as hyt were, separat from the hole; as in the hede,
 handys, *and* fete, wych I before notyd here to resembyl 569

thes *partys* in manys body. As, to the hede (yf you
 remembyr) I resemblyd the offycerys *and* rularys in
 euery *commynalty*, in whose faute to se here in our cun-
 trey hyt ys no thyng hard; for thys ys general almost

to them al—both pryneys, lordys, byschoppys *and* pre-
 latys—that euery one of them lokyth chefely to theyr
 owne profyte, plesure, *and* commodyte, *and* few ther be

wych regard the welth of the *commynalty*; but, vnder
 the pretense *and* colure therof, euery *one of them
 procuryth the pryuate *and* the syngular wele. Pryneys

and lordys sylدون loke to the gud ordur *and* welth of
 theyr subiectys; only they loke to the receyuyng of
 theyr rentys *and* reuenuys of theyr landys, wyth grete 582

study of enhaunsyng therof, to the ferther maynteynyng
 of theyr pompos state; so that yf theyr subiectys dow
 theyr duty therin, justely paying theyr rentys at tyme

appoyntyd, for the rest they care not (as hyt ys com-
 mynly sayd) “whether they synke or swyme.” By-
 schoppys also, *and* prelatys of the church, you se how

lytyl regard they haue of theyr floke. So that they
 may haue the woll, they lytyl care for the sympul
 schype, but let them wandur in wyld forestys, in daunger 591

P. says he will
 now speak of
 particular faults.

Fautys in the
partys sundry.¹

All princes, lords,
 and bishops
 seek their own
 profit and
 pleasure.

[* Page 132.]

Princes and lords
 seek only their
 rents;

if these are paid,
 the subjects may
 “sink or swim.”

Prelates care only
 for the wool of
 the flock.

¹ In margin of MS.

Judges seek
bribes.

of wolfys dayly to be denouryd. Jugys *and* mynystrys
of the law, you see how lytyl regard, also, they haue
594 of gud *and* true admynystratyon of justyce. Lucur
and affectyon rulyth al therin ; for (as hyt ys commynly
and truly also sayd) “materys be endyd as they be
frendyd.” Yf they juge be hys frend whose cause ys
intretyd, the mater lyghtly *can* not go amys, but euer
hyt schalbe fynyschyd accordyng to hys desyre. Thys
fautys you may see in offycerys *and* rularys both spirit-
uall *and* temporal ; wherby you may most playnly per-
ceyue how lytyl they regard theyr *offyce *and* duty, by

“Matters be
ended as they
be friended;”
not by justice.

Thus it may be
seen that in the
head is great
disease,
[* Page 133.]

603 the reson wherof in the hede of thys commynalty ther
ys reynyng a grete dysease, the wych, as me semyth,
may wel be comparyd to a frencey. For lyke as in a
frencey man consyderyth not hymselfe, nor *can* not tel
what ys gud, nother for hymselfe, nor yet for other,
608 but euery thyng doth that cumyth to hys fancy, wyth-
out any ordur or rule of ryght reson, so dow our offycerys
and rularys of our cuntrey (wythout regard other of
theyr owne true profyt or of the commyn,—forgettyng
al thyng wych perteynyth to theyr offyce *and* duty)
613 apply them selfe to the fulfylling of theyr vayn plesurys
and folysch fantasye ; wherfor they be taken, as hyt were,
wyth a commyn frenesye.

Frencey.¹

and the state is
as a man in a
frenzy.

34. *Lvpset*.—Syr, thys ys wythout fayle true, nor
can not be denyd.

It is the same
in the feet and
hands :

35. *Pole*.—Ther ys also, lykewyse, in the fete *and*
in the handys, wych susteyn the body *and* procure by
620 labur thyngys necessary for the same, as hyt were, a
commyn dysease. For bothe the fete *and* they handys,
(to whome I resemblyd plowmen *and* laburarys of the
ground, wyth craftys men *and* artyfycerys, in procuryng
of thyngys necessary) are necllygent *and* slo to the exer-
cyse therof wych perteynyth to theyr offyce *and* duty.
626 Plowmen dow not dilygently labur *and* tyl they ground

Plowmen and
craftsmen are
negligent,

¹ In margin of MS.

for the bryngyng forth of frutys *necessary for the fode [* Page 134.]
and sustenance of man; craftys men also, *and* al arty- 628
 fycerys, schow no les neclygence in the vse of theyr
 craftys: by the reson wherof here ys in our cuntrey
 much darth therof *and* penury.

hence there is
 dearth and
 penury.

36. **Lvpset.**—Sir, thys you dow, as me semyth, but
 only say. You nother proue hyt by argumente nor
 reson.

L. requires proof
 of this.

37. **Pole.**—Me semyth hyt nede no more to dow so, P. says it is clear;
 then to schow the lyght of the sone by a candyl, thys 636

mater ys so open to euery mannys ye. For thes many

and grete waste groundys here in our cuntrey, the grete
 lake of vytayle *and* the skarsenes therof, *and* darth of
 al thyng workyd by mannys hande, dow not only schow

look at the waste
 grounds, and the
 lack of food.

the grete neclygence of the rest of our pepul, but in the 641

plowmen also *and* artyfycerys dothe arge *and* declare
 manyfest lake of dylygence. For thys ys sure—yf our

plowmen here were as dylygent as they be in other
 partys (in Fraunce, Italy, or in Spayne) we schold not

If plowmen and
 artificers were as
 diligent as they
 are in other
 parts, there
 would be less
 waste land, and
 less scarcity of
 manufactures.

haue so much wast ground, voyd *and* vntyllyd, as ther
 ys now; *and* yf our artyfycerys applyd themselfe to la-

bur as dylygently as they dow in other cuntreys, we
 schold not haue thyngys made by mannys hande so

skase *and* so dere as they be now here *commynly*. For 650

thys ys a certayn truth, that the pepul of Englonde ys
 more gyuen to idul glotony then any pepul of the world;

Our people are
 given to idle
 gluttony.

wych ys, to al them that haue experience of the man-
 erys of other, manyfest *and* playn. Wherfor *we may

[* Page 135.]

boldely affyrme thys dysease to reyne both in the handys 655

and fete of thys polytyke body, *and* justely, as me
 semyth, compare hyt to a goute. For lyke as in a goute

Goute.¹

the handys *and* fete ly vnproftytabul to the body,
 hauyng no powar to exerceyse themselfe in theyr natural

This idleness of
 the hands and
 feet is like the
 gout,

offyce, but be as dede, wythout lyfe *and* quyknes to
 procure thyngys necessary for the body; so, in thys nec-

Chiragra
 podagra.¹

¹ In margin of MS.

662 lygence of the plowmen *and* artyfycerys, thys polytyke
body lyth as dede, wythout lyfe *and* quyknes, lakkyng
al thyng necessary for the fode *and* natural sustenance
of the same. Wherfor we may wel, for thys cause,
compare thys dysease reynyng in thes partys vnto the
goute in mannys body, wych so occupyth the handys
and the fete that they be not abul to dow theyr offyce
669 *and* natural exercyse.

which renders
hands and feet
useless.

(37.) And thus now, Master Lvpset, you haue hard
the most general dyseasys in thys polytyke body, *and*
in the partys of the same, to the wych al other party-
cular run vnto, non other wyse then smal brokys to
674 grete ryuerys. Wherfor, now folowyng our processe,
we wyl go seke out the fautys *and* lake of thyngys
necessary, *and* commodouse also, for the maynteynyng
of the welth of thys body; wych thyng to fynd ys no
thyng *hard. For I thynke ther ys no man so wythout
yes but he seeth playnly the grete pouerty of thys reame,
and the grete lake of thyngys necessary *and* commody-
681 ouse to the maynteynyng of a true commyn wele.

Penuria rerum
communiū (P) 1

[* Page 136.]
Every man with
eyes can see the
poverty of the
realm.

L. marvels how
he can say so,
considering the
wealth of the
country.

38. Lvpset.—Sir, in thys behalfe I can not agre
wyth you,² but rather I maruayle that you can say so;
for thys reame hath byn callyd euer rych, *and* of al
Chrystundome one of the most welthys. For, as touchyng
686 wole *and* lede, tyn, yron, syluur *and* gold, ye, *and* al
thyngys necessary for the lyfe of man, in the habundance
wherof stondyth veray true ryches, I thynke our cuntrey
may be comparyd wyth any other. Wherfor, me semyth,
you schold not complayne much of the pouerty of our
691 reame.

P. replies that
Lvpset speaks
like a man of the
old world, and
compares the
past with the
present.

39. Pole.—Master Lvpset, you speke lyke a man of
the old world *and* not of thys tyme. For thys ys vn-
dowtyd *and* certaynly true, that our yle hathe byn the
most welthy *and* rych ile of Chrystundome, *and* not
696 many yerys of goo; but yf you consydyr hyt wel, *and*

¹ In margin of MS.

² MS. you in.

examyn the state therof as hyt ys now, *comparyng* hyt 697
 wyth the same in auneyent tyme, I suppose you schal
 fynd grete alteratyon therin. You schal fynd, for grete
 ryches *and* lyberalyte in tyme past, now grete wrechyd-
 nes *and* pouerty; *and* for grete abundaunce of thyngys
 necessary, grete skarsenes *and* penury. Wych thyng 702
 you schal not dowte of at al, yf you wyl fyrst loke to
 the grete multytude of beggarys here in our cuntrey in
 thys lake *and* skarsenes *of pepul. For thys ys sure,
 that in no cuntrey of Chrystundome, for the nombur of
 pepul, you schal fynd so many beggarys as be here in 707
 Englonde, *and* mo now then haue byn before tyme; wych
 arguth playn grete pouerty. Then, ferther, yf you
 herken to the complaynt of al statys *and* degrees, you
 schal dowte of thys mater no thyng at al. The plow-
 man, the artyfycer, the marchant, the gentyلمان,—ye,
 lordys *and* pryneys, byschoppys *and* prelatys,—al wyth
 one voyce cry they lake money, *and* that they be no 714
 thyng so welthy *and* ryche as they haue byn in tyme
 past. Thys ys the consent of al statys, non except, al
 in thys agre; *and* hyt ys no thyng lyke that al schold
 complayn *without* a cause. Wherfor, me semyth, hyt
 cannot be dowtyd but that ther ys here among vs grete 719
 pouerty. *And* as for the lake of thyngys necessary, who
 can deny, when he lokyth to the grete dardth of corne,
 catayle, vytayle, *and* of al other thyngys necessary, a
 commyn dardth arguth grete lake? Yf ther were abund-
 aunce *and* plenty, hyt coude not be long so dere; for 724
 abundaunce euer makyth euery thyng gud chepe.
 Wherfor, now, in thys dardth of al thyngys, we must
 nedys confesse grete lake, penury, *and* skarsnes *of
 thyngys necessary to the mayntenance of our commyn
 wele.

Look at the
 beggars.
 [* Page 137.]

All ranks, from
 the plowman to
 the prelate, com-
 plain of the lack
 of money.

Look also at the
 dearth of corn
 and cattle and
 necessities.

[* Page 135.]

40. *Lvpset.*—Sir, [as]¹ me semyth, thys ys not wel
 prouyd: for, fyrst, as touchyng [the]¹ multytude of beg-

L. says beggary
 argues not
 poverty, but
 idleness;

¹ MS. torn off.

- 732 garys, hyt arguth no pouerty, but rather mu[ch] idulnes
and yl pollycy ; for hyt ys theyr owne cause *and* necly-
 gence that they so begge ;—ther ys suffyeyent enough
 here in our cuntrey of al thyngys to maynteyne them
 wythout beggyng. And where as you bryng the com-
 playnt of al statys for an argument of pouerty, me
 semyth that prouyth hyt but sklendurly ; for thys ys
 sure—men so extyme ryches *and* money, that yf they
 had therof neuer so grete abundaunce *and* plenty, yet
 they wold complayne ; ye, *and* many of them fayn
 pouerty. You schal fynd few that wyl confesse them-
 selfe ryche, few that wyl say they haue enough. How
 be hyt, yf we wyl justely examyn the mater, *and* com-
 pare our pepul of Englonde wyth the pepul of other
 cuntreys, I thynke we schal fynd them most rych *and*
 welthy of any commyns aboute vs ; for in Fraunce, Italy,
and Spayn, the commynys wythout fayle are more
 myserabul *and* pore then they be here wyth vs. And
 as touchyng the darth *and* lake of thyngys necessary,
 hyt ys wyth vs as hyt ys in al other placys. When the
 prouysyon of God sendyth vs sesonabul weddur for the
 frutys of the ground, then we haue abundaunce ; *and*
 when hyt plesyth hym other wyse to punysch vs, then
 we must lake, *and* lay no *faute in our pollycy. Where-
 for, me semyth, you nede not to lay to vs here in our
 cuntrey thys grete pouerty, nor yet thys gret lake of
 thyngys necessary ; except hyt be such as commyth by
 the prouydence of God, wych by no wyt nor pollycy of
 man may be amendyd.
41. **Pole.**—Master Lvpset, I haue spyd by you that
 you are loth to graunt your cuntrey to be pore, specyally
 when you compare hyt wyth other where you see grettur
 pouerty then wyth vs. But, Master Lvpset, when we
 speke of the pouerty of our cuntrey, we may not then
 compare hyt wyth them wych be more pore then hyt ;
 for thys ys no dowte, but that ther ys grettur pouerty

and as to the
 complaint of all
 ranks, why, men
 will complain
 however rich
 they may be.

Compare our
 people with
 Italy, &c.

As for the lack
 of food, that is
 the fault of the
 weather,

[* Page 139.]

so don't lay all
 this blame on us.

P. owns that the
 poverty of other
 countries is
 greater than our
 own,

among the *commyn* pepul in other *partys* then wyth vs 768
 in Englonde. But therin I wyl wyth you agre, *Master*
Lvpset, bycause we haue before our yes a true *commyn*
wel, as we haue descrybyd before, wych we wold set
and stabul here in our cuntrey. We must therfor euer
 loke to that, schowyng al the fautys, mysordurys, *and* 773
 lakkys here among vs, wych may be any *impedimentys*
 therto. *And* so, although *perauenture* our cuntrey be
 not so pore as many other be, yet thys ys sure,—hyt ys
 more pore then hyt hath byn in tyme past, *and* such
 pouerty reynyth now that in no case may stond wyth a
 veray true *and* floryschyng *commyn wel*; for thys ys 779
 sure,—that thys multytude of beggarys here in our cun-
 trey schowyth much pouerty, ye, *and*, as you say, also
 much *idulnes *and* yl pollycy. Hyt ys no dowte but
 hyt arguth suffyciently both, *and* thys complaynt
 cumyth not, as I sayd, also of nought; for though hyt
 be so that men may dyssembly *and* fayne grete pouerty,
 where as non ys, yet I thynke, in dede, hyt ys not so 786
 alway. Al men wold not so agre in dyssymylyng, some
 state schold be content, *and* no thyng complayn. But,
Master Lvpset,¹ thys ys certayn *and* sure,—the corne of
 thys reame ys in few yerys maruelusly spent, wych you
 may know surely by the abundance therof in other 791
partys, where as you schal fynd as grete plenty therof
 as in the myddys of Englonde. Wherfor, no dowte, ther
 ys gretyr pouerty then hath byn in tyme past, *and*
 grettur then may (as I sayd) wyth the *commyn wel*
and prosperouse state of our cuntrey wel agre *and* stond. 796
And so ther ys, lyke wyse, such lake of thyngys neces-
 sary, wych cumyth not only by the *commyn ordynance*
and prouysyon of God, but for lake of gud ordur *and*
 polytyke rule (as heraftur, when we schal seke out the
 ground *and* cause of the same, hyt schalbe more euydent
and playn); such lake, I say, ther ys therof here among

but it is poorer
 than it was; and
 with so much
 poverty it cannot
 flourish.

[* Page 140.]

These complaints
 do not arise from
 nothing.

The lack of corn
 and things
 necessary does
 not arise from the
 ordinance of God.

¹ MS. le.

803 vs that may not be suffryd wyth the true *commyn* wele.
 Wherfor, notwythstondyng that we haue not most ex-
 treme pouerty, yet such hyt ys as hath not byn before
 many yerys here in our cuntrey, *and* such as must be
 reformyd, yf we wyl restore the *commyn* wele aftur such
 [* Page 141.] *forme *and* fascyon as we haue descrybyd before, wyth
 809 a juste pollycy.

L. owns the
 poverty is greater
 than need be.

42. *Lvpset.*—*Sir*, therin I agre to you wel. How
 be hyt, surely our cuntrey ys not so pore as many other
 be ; nor yet so pore as me thought, by your resonyng,
 813 you wold haue had me to confesse. But surely ther ys
 grettur pouerty then nede to be, yf ther were among vs
 gud pollycy ; for thys euery man may see,—that some
 haue to much, some to lytyl, *and* some neuer a wyt.
 Wherfor, wythout fayle, a mysordur ther ys wherby
 818 rysyth thys pouerty.

F. complains of
 the dirt and
 dilapidations of
 cities, castles,
 and townys.

Male culte
 ciuitates.¹

43. *Pole.*—Hyt ys enough that you wyl now at the
 last graunt me that. But now let vs loke ferther yet to
 the vtward thyngys requyryd to the mayntenance of our
commyn wele in thys polytyke body. Dow you not see
 a grete faute in our cytes, castellys, *and* townys, con-
 cernyng the byldyng *and* clene kepyng of the same ?
 825 Ther ys no cure nor regard of them, but euery man for
 hys tyme only lyuyth *and* lokyth to hys plesure, wyth-
 out regard of the posteryte.

L. quite agrees,
 and speaks of
 what he saw in
 Flanders and
 France.

44. *Lvpset.*—Surely that ys veray truth ; as touchyng
 the gudly byldyng of cytes *and* townys, I trow in the
 world ther ys not les regard then here in Englonde, wych
 831 ys to al them manyfest wych hane byn laburyd *and*
 trauaylyd in other partys. Me thought, when I cam
 fyrst into Flaunders *and* Fraunce, that I was translatyd,
 [* Page 142.] *as hyt had byn, into a nother world, the cytes *and*
 townys apperyd so gudly, so wel byldyd, *and* so clene
 kept ; of the wych ther ys in euery place so grete cure
 837 *and* regard, that euery towne semyd to me to stryue

¹ In margin of MS.

wyth other, as hyt had byn for a vycetory, wych schold 838
 be more beutyful *and* strong, bettur byld *and* elennur
 kept; such dylygens they put al to that purpos. *And*,
 contrary, here wyth vs they pepul seme to study to fynd
 meanys how they may quyklyst let fal into ruyn *and*
 dekey al theyr cytes, castelys, *and* townys. Euery Here every
 gentylman flyth into the cuntrey. Few that inhabyt gentleman flies
 cytes or townys; few that haue any regard of them; by to the country
 the reson wherof in them you schal fynd no pollycey, no to live. 846
 cyuyle ordur almost, nor rule.

45. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*, thys ys veray wel sayd P. thinks this
 of you. Befor I had much to dow to make you to con- very well said,
 fesse such fautys as we spake of; but now me thynke and asks him to
 you wyl begyn to *conferme* them, *and* to fulfyl your go on. 852
 promys also, made at the begynnyng of our *communy-*
cacyon: that was, to put me in remembraunce of such
 mysordurys as you also yourselfe, by long experyence,
 had notyd; and I pray you, *Master Lvpset*, so to dow.

46. *Lvpset*.—Wel, sir, seyng that you wyl haue me 857
 to take that parte apon me now, certayn thyngys wych
 I haue notyd as grete detrymentys *and* hurtys to our
 commyn * wele, and, namely, concernyng the vtward [* Page 143.]
 thyngys requyryd to the mayntenance of thys polytyke
 body that you speke so much of, I wyl schow you.
And fyrst, as touchyng the bryngyng in *and* caryng out
 of thyngys necessary for vs, I haue obseruyd, as me
 semyth, a grete faute here in our cuntrey; for ther ys
 conuehauns of many thyngys necessary to the vse of our
 pepul, more then may be wel sufferyd, both of catayl,
and corne, wol, tyn, *and* led, *and* other metallys, wher-
 of we haue no such abundaunce, that our cuntrey wyth
 commodityte may lake so much. *And* for thes thyngys,
 wych ys worst of al, ther ys brought in such thyngys
 almost only as we may not only lake ryght wel, but such
 as be the destructyon of our pepul, *and* of al dylygent 872

ἰσαγωγὴ καὶ
 ἐξαγωγὴ.¹

He complains
 that the country
 exports cattle,
 corn, wool, tin,
 lead: for which
 we receive wines,
 fine cloths, silks,
 beads, knives,
 and such trifles:

¹ In margin of MS. Read εἰσαγωγή καὶ ἐξαγωγή.

all of which we
should either
be better without,
or could make
ourselves.

exereyse of artys *and* craftys here in our cuntrey; as,
many sortys of delycate wynys, fyne elothys, says *and*
sylkys, bedys, combys, gyrdyllys *and* knyfys, *and* a
thousand such tryfelyng thyngys, wych other we myght
wel lake, or els, at the lest, our owne pepul myght be
878 occupyd wyth the workyng therof, wych now, by the
reson therof, are much corrupt wyth idulnes and slothe.

Hurt of clothying.¹

And in thys behalfe, me semyth, hyt ys a grete hurte to
the clotharys of Englund, thys bryngyng in of French
clothe, the cause why I nede not to open, wych to enery
mannys ye ys manyfest. And thys bryngyng in of such
abundaunce of wyne ys a grete impoueryschyng to *many
gentylmen, wych nowadays can kepe no house wythout
theyr sellarys ful of dyuerse kyndys of wyne. Before

The wines also
impoverish the
[* Page 144.]
nobles

Bryngyng in of
wyne.¹

887 tyme, I am sure, hyt was nothyng so, when thys land
was more floryschyng then hyt ys now. Hyt causyth,
also, much drunkennes *and* idulnes among our commyn
pepul *and* craftys men in cytes *and* townys, wych,
drawen by the plesure of thes delycate wynys, spend
892 theyr thryft *and* consume the tyme in commyn tauernys,
to the grete destructyon *and* ruyne of the pepul.

as well as the
poor.

P. says this is
truth; but the
fault is with the
people.

47. **Pole.**—Thys ys troth that you now say, but we
must take hede to lay the faute when as hyt ys; for
that ys thé faute of the pepul, *Master Lvpset, and* not
897 of the abundaunce of wyne.

48. **Lvpset.**—That ys troth, *and* yet, for al that, by-
cause men are so prone of theyr corrupt nature *and* redy
to plesure, me semyth hyt were nothyng amys yf the
oceasyon were taken from them, wych ys surely much

902 incresyd by thys grete abundaunce of wyne. I wold not
yet nother but that some schold be brought in for the
plesure of nobul men; but herein mesure were gud.
And so, lykewyse, of sylkys *and* says, conuenient hyt
ys that some we haue for the apparayle of the noblyte;
but yet therin I note a nother grete mysordur, in the

L. would have
some wine,

Bryngyng in of
sylkys.¹
and says,
and silks for the
nobility;

¹ In margin of MS.

apparayle, I say, of our pepul. For now you se ther ys almost no man content to were cloth here made at home in our owne cuntrey, nother lynyn nor wolen, but euery man wyl were such as ys made beyond the see, as cha-
 let, says, fustyanys, *and* sylkys; by the reson wherof dyuers *craftys here fal in dekey, as clothyers, weuerys, worstyd-makys, tukkarys, *and* fullarys, wyth dyuerse other of the same sort. Thys thyngys folow, *and* be
 annexyd as commyn effectys to the bryngyng in of such thyngys as we myght bettur lake, then haue in such abundaunce as we haue now commynly.

but all will have says, fustians and silks from over the sea;

Holand & Normandy,¹ and this ruins home crafts.
 [* Page 145.]

915

49. **Pole.**—Thys wych you say I trow euery man seth. No man can deny them, who delytyth not in obstynacy.

P. says none can deny it.

921

50. **Lvpset.**—Ther ys a nother thyng as playn as thys, the wych, though hyt be in dede no les faute then the other, yet hyt ys taken for non at al, but rather for grete honowre *and* prayse, *and* that ys, the excesse in dyat, *and* the mysordur therin, wych al men of iuge-

L. Another fault is excess of diet.

Excesse in dyat.¹

927

ment playnly dow see; for ther was neuer so grete festyng *and* bankettyng, wyth so many *and* dyuerse kyndys of metys, as ther ys now in our days commynly vsyd, *and* speecyally in mean mennys housys. Now euery mean gentylman for the most parte wyl fare as wel as before tyme were wont pryneys *and* lordys; *and* thys they take for theyr grete honowre, wych, in dede, ys a grete dyshonowre *and* manifest destructyon *and* detrymente to the commyn wele sundry ways; as wel
 by nuryshyng many idul glottonys, wherof spryngyth much syknes, as by the bryngyng in also of grete skarsenes of catayl, corne, *and* al other vytayl; for thys may be a commyn prouerbe, “many idul glottonys make vytayle dere.”

Now “a mean gentleman will fare as well as princes used to fare;”

and this they take as an honour.

935

51. **Pole.**—Thys mysordur ys also manifest. Hyt may not be wyth reson denyd.

“Many idle gluttons make victuals dear.”

942

¹ In margin of MS.

Excesse in
byldyng.¹
Though men
build ill, yet
[* Page 146.]
they build above
their degree.

52. **Lvpset.**—And what thynke you in byldyng? Thoughe you found a faute before in the yl byldyng of our cytes *and* townys, yet, *me semyth, *gentylmen and* the nobylite are in that behalfe ouer sumptuose. They byld commynly aboue theyr degree. A mean man wyl
948 haue a house mete for a prynce, wych, me semyth, ys no thyng conuenient to hys state *and* condycyon.

P. says this is all
very well, if they
build of timber
and stone got at
home.

53. **Pole.**—Wel, Master Lvpset, as touchyng that, so long as they byld but of tymbur *and* stone here get at home in our owne cuntrey, wythout gylytyng *and* daubyng the postys wyth gold, me semyth hyt may be
954 sufferyd ryght wel; for hyt ys a grete ornament to the cuntrey, *and* many men are wel set a-worke therby. How be hyt, as you say, when men wyl passe theyr state *and* degre, that myght be sparyd ryght wel.

L. The result of
this over-building
is decay from
want of means
to keep it in
repair.

54. **Lvpset.**—Mary, Syr, that ys the thyng that I chefely note; for now you schal see many men byld more then they themselfe, or theyr heyrys *and* successorys, be conueniently abyld to maynteyn *and* repayre. *And* so such housys as by some are byldyd to theyr grete
963 costys *and* charge, by other are let downe, *and* sufferyd to fal into ruyne *and* dekey, bycause they were byldyd aboue theyr state, condycyon, *and* degre.

P. The greatest
fault lies in
gilding the posts
and walls.

55. **Pole.**—Of that sort, Master Lvpset, you schal not fynd veray many. But the gretyst faute in our byldyng ys, the consumyng of gold apon postys *and* wallys; for then hyt neuer commyth aftur to other vse
970 or profyt,—only a lytyl for the tyme hyt plesyth the ye. Hyt ys a vayn pompe, **and* of a late days brought in to our cuntrey.

Lake of tyllage.¹

L. complains of
the enclosing of
arable lands.

56. **Lvpset.**—They are no smal fautys bothe togyddur, nor can not be excusyd by any gud reson. And ferther, also, me semyth ther ys a grete faute in tyllage of the ground. Ther ys no man but he seth the grete enclosyng in euery parte of herabul land; *and* where as

¹ In margin of MS.

was corne *and* fruteful tyllage, now no thyng ys but 978
pasturys *and* playnys, by the reson wherof many vyl-
lagys *and* townys are in few days ruynate *and* dekeyd.

57. **Pole.**—Thys hath byn thought a faute many a
day; but yf the mater be wel examynynd, peraenture
hyt ys not so grete as hyt apperyth, *and* so ys jugyd of
the commyn sorte. For seyng hyt ys so that our fode 984

and nuryshyng stondyth not only in corne *and* frutys
of the grounde, but also in bestys *and* catayl, no les
necessary then the other, ther' must be prouysyon for
the bredyng of them as wel as for the tylling of the
erthe, wych can not be wythout pasturys *and* enclosure
of ground. For thys ys certayn, wythout pasturys such
multytude of catayl wyl not be maynteynyd as ys re- 991

quyryd to vs here in our cuntrey, where as lakkyth the
manyfold *and* dyuerse frutys wych ys had in other cun-
treys for the sustenance of man. Wherfor, I thynke
hyt veray necessary to haue thys inclosyng of pasturys
for our catayl *and* bestys, *and* specyally for schepe, by 996

whose profyte the welth **and* plesure here of thys reame
ys much maynteynyd. For yf your plenty *and* abund-
aunce of wolles were not here maynteynyd, you schold
haue lytyl brought in by marchaundys from other partys,
and so we schold lyue wythout any plesure or com-
modityte. 1002

58. **Lvpset.**—Sir, as touchyng that, I remembry what
you sayd before:—yf we had fewar thyngys brough[t]
in from other partys, *and* les caryd out, we schold haue
more commodityte *and* veray true plesure, much more
then we haue now: thys ys certayn *and* sure. But 1007
now to our purpos. Thys ys wythout fayle, that,
seyng nature hath denyd vs many kyndys of frutys
wych grow in other partys to the nuryshyng of the
pepul, hyt ys necessary that we schold haue more increso
of bestys *and* catayl then ther ys ther; but yet you
know wel ther ys in al thyngys a mesure *and* mean.

STARKEY.

7

P. approves of
this enclosing;

we must have
cattle for food,
and sheep for
wool, and without
pastures we can
have neither.

[* Page 148.]

L. says if we had
fewer imports and
exports we should
have greater
abundance than
now.

There is
moderation in
all things.

To much cure of
schype, *and* lytyl
of other bestys,
horses, oxen.¹

The sheep die of
scab and rot, in
consequence of
the fat pasture.

1014 We haue to much regard *and* study of the nuryschyng of schype *and* wyld bestys here in our cuntrey. Hyt can not be denyd. *And* therfor me semyth we also are ofte-tymys justely punnyschyd therfore ; for *commynly* they dye of skabe *and* rottys in grete nombur, wych *cumyth* chefely, aftur myn opynyon, bycause they are nuryschyd in so fat pasture. For a schype by hys nature, *and* also a dere, louth a lene, barren, *and* drye ground. Wherfor, when they are elosyd in ranke pas-

[* Page 149.]

There is little
attention paid to
the breeding of
cattle,

1023 turys *and* butful ground, they are sone touchyd wyth the skabe *and* the rotte ; *and* so, though we nurysch ouer many by inclosure, yet ouer few of them (as experyence schowyth) come to the *profyte *and* vse of man. *And* as touchyng other catayl *and* bestys of al sortys, I thynke wyth vs ther ys *commynly* ouer lytyl regard of the bredyng of them. Few men study the inerece of that sort ; but as sone, as they be brought forth, com-

and though we
have much
pasture we have
few cattle.

1031 mynly they be other kyld where they are brede, or sold to them wych purpos not to bryng them vp to the *commyn* profyt. *And* so thys, notwythstondyng that we haue ouer much pasture, yet we haue of such bestys ouer few wych are brought to the profyte of man, *and* be neces-

1036 sary to the mayntenance of the vtward wele of a *commynalty* ; of the wych thyng, *perauenture*, rysyth a *parte* of thys grete darthe both of vytayl *and* corne, as I thynke here aftur, in hys place, you wyl more largely schow *and* declare. Now here hyt ys suffycyent for me

The pasture-
farms get into
the hands of a
few rich men,
and the poor are
excluded.

Ingrossyng of
fermys.¹

1041 to note thys as a *commyn* faute, *and* that hyt ys no thyng necessary for the nuryschyng of our bestys to haue so grete inclosurys of pasturys, wych ys a grete dekey of the tyllage of thys reame ; *and* speccially when the fermys of al such pasturys nowadays, for the most *parte*, are brought to the handys of a few *and* rychar men, wych wyl gyue other gretyst rent or fyne for the vse therof ; wych thyng I note as a nother grete faute

¹ In margin of MS.

concernyng our purpos now intendyd. For by thys 1049
 bothe they pore men are excludyd from theyr lyuyng,
and, besyde that, the ground also wors tyllyd *and* Inhaunsyng of
 occupyd, remeynyng in the handys of them who therof rentys.¹
 take lytyl regard. Thes few thyngys now are come to
 my mynd, wych I haue notyd, concernyng the *dekey [* Page 150.]
 of ryches *and* other vtward thyngys necessary to the 1055
 welthy mayntenance of our polytyke body. How be
 hyt, to say the truthe, thes same al folow *and* be an-
 nexyd *and* couplyd to such fautys as you yourselve
 notyd before.

59. *Pole*.—I can not tel you that, but yf hyt were 1060
 so in dede, yet hyt ys not much amys to haue them more
 partycularly exereysyd, wych you in few wordys haue
 suffyciently downe. Wherfor now, Mastur Lvpset, aftur P. says it remains
 that we haue notyd the most general fautys *and* mys- now to touch of
 ordurys that we can fynd now at thys tyme, bothe in the “misorders”
 the polytyke body *and* also in the vtwarde thyngys of in the govern-
 necessity requyryd to the welthy state *and* veray com- ment of the
 myn wele here of our cuntrey, thys remeynyth (accord- state.
 yng to the proces of our communycatyon at the begyn- 1067
 nyng appoyntyd) to note also, *and*, aftur the maner
 begun, schortly to touch the mysordurys *and* yl govern-
 ance wych we schal fynd in [the] ordur *and* rule of the 1072
 state of our cuntrey; the wych ordur *and* rule we before
 haue declaryd to resembyl the soule in mannys body.
 For euen lyke as the soule gyuyth lyfe, gouernyth, *and*
 rulyth the body of man, so doth cyuyle ordur *and* poly-
 tyke rule (as we sayd before) gouerne *and* stabyl the 1077
 polytyk body in euery cuntrey, cyte, *and* towne. And
 here, Master Lvpset, aboue al, we must be dylygent, for
 as much as hyt ys more hard *to spy the fautys therin, Fautys in the
 then such as we haue notyd before. For lyke as hyt ys pollycy.¹
 much easyar also to spy the sykenes in mannys body It is more
 then the syknes of mynd wych many men perceyue no- difficult to spy
 [* Page 151.]
 than it has been
 with those
 already noted;
 1083

¹ In margin of MS.

- 1084 thyng at al, wych then be indede most greuously dys-
 easyd when the[y] lest *perceyue* hyt ; so I feare me that
 and we have many disorders which are unfelt. we haue many dyseasys or mysordurys (cal them as you
 wyl) here in the ordur *and* gouernance of our cuntrey,
 wych no thyng at al are *perceyuyd* nor felt ; for they
 are¹, by long custume *and* law in processe of tyme, so
 1090 growne among vs, so confirmyd in our hartys, that we
 hardly can *conceyue* any faute to remayn therin. But
 I trust I schal not haue you so styffe, *Master Lvpset*,
 nor so fer from true iugement, but that you wyl gyue
 place euer to reson manyfest *and* playn.
- 1095 60. *Lvpset*.—That I wyl surely, yf I may *perceyue*
 hyt, for I neuer louyd blynd obstynacy ; but, contrary,
 L. will be careful to avoid granting too much. I schal beware, as nere as I can, that you schal not make
 me to graunt such thyngys to be mysordurys *and* fautys
- 1099 wych in dede are *non* at al.
61. *Pole*.—Thys I remembyr we agreed apou before ;
 but yet, bycause hyt ys a gud poynt, I am wel content
 that we agre apou thys bargyn onys agayne. *And* thus
 1103 now let vs begyn.

[CHAPTER IV.]

P. says England
 has been for
 many years
 governed by
 princes, whose
 will was law.
*Pryncely powar.*²

[* Page 152.]

1. [*Pole*.]—Hyt ys not vnknown to you, *Master*
Lvpset, that our cuntrey hathe byn gouernyd *and* rulyd
 thes many yerys vnder the state of pryneys, wych by
 theyr regal powar *and* pryncely authoryte, haue jugyd
 *al thyngys *perteynyng* to the state of our reame to
 6 hang only apou theyr wyl *and* fantasye ; insomuch that,
 what so euer they euer haue *conceyuyd* or purposyd in
 theyr myndys, they thought, by *and* by, to haue hyt put
 in effecte, wythout resystens to be made by any priuate

¹ MS. are so.

² In margin of MS.

man *and* subyeete ; or els, by *and* by, they haue sayd that 10
 men schold mynysch theyr pryneely authoryte. For
 what ys a prynee (as hyt ys *commynly* sayd) but he may
 dow what he wyl? Hyt ys thought that al holly hang-
 yth apon hys only arbytryment. Thys hath byn
 thought, ye, *and* thys yet ys thought, to perteyne to the 15
 maiesty of a prynee—to moderate *and* rule al thyng
 accordyng to hys wyl *and* plesure ; wych ys, wythout
 dowte, *and* euer hath byn, the gretyst destructyon to
 thys reame, ye, *and* to al other, that euer hathe come
 therto. Thys I coude declare to you, yf hyt were nede,
 by long *and* many storys ; but I thynke ther ys no man 21
 that equally wyl consydr the state of our reame, but he
 seth thys ryght wel. For, *Master Lvpset*, thys ys sure
and a gospel word, that cuntrey can not be long wel
 gouernyd nor maynteynyd wyth gud pollycy where al
 ys rulyd by the wyl of one, not chosen by electyon, but
commynth to hyt by natural successyon ; for *syldon
 seen hyt ys that they wych by successyon *comme* to
 kyngdomys *and* reamys are worthy of such hys au-
 thoryte.

This has been a
 great destruction
 to this realm.

No country can
 prosper under a
 king not chosen
 by election.

[* Page 153.]
 Kings by succes-
 sion are seldom
 worthy.

2. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, take you hede here what you say ;
 for thys poynt that you now touch wyl seme, *perauenture*
 to many, to sowne to some treson. For what ! Wyl you
 make a kyng to haue no more powar then one of hys
 lordys? Hyt ys *commynly* sayd (and, I thynke, truly) a 35
 kyng ys aboue hys lawys ; no law byndyth hym ; but
 that he, beyng a prynee, may dow what he wyl, bothe
 lose *and* bynde. Thys, I am sure, ys *commynly*
 thought among the nobullys here of our reame, ye, *and*
 al the hole *commynalty*.

L. implores Pole
 to beware of
 treason.

He thinks a king
 is above all laws.

3. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*, thys ys one of the thyngys
 that I spake of at the begynnyng, wherby we are
 dyseasyd *and* perceyue hyt not, by the reson wherof we
 are bothe in more grefe *and* daunger also ; but yf we
 wyl examyn thys mater wel, we schal sone fynd such 45

P. says this is
 one of our
 diseases, and the
 root of many
 more.

- 46 faute therin that we may wel cal hyt the rote of many
 other. For thys ys sure—lyke as hyt ys most *perfayt*
and excellent state of pollycy *and* rule to be gouernyd
 by a prynce, *and* al thyng to be subiecte to hys wyl (so
 that he be suche a one that in wysdome *and* vertue he
- 51 so fer excellyth al other as doth the maiesty of a prynce
 the priuate state *of the sympul *commynalty*) so hyt
 ys of al the most pestylent *and* pernycouse state, most
 ful of peryl, *and* to the *commyn* welth most daungerouse,
 to be rulyd by one, when he ys not of suche hye vertue
- 56 *and* *perfayte* wysdome that, for the same only, he ys to
 be preferryd aboue al other, *and* most worthy therfor to
 be rular *and* prynce. Wherfor, sythen hyt ys so, that
 our pryneys are not chosen of the most worthys by
 electyon, but by the ordur of our reame, how so euer
 hyt chaunce, come by successyon, I thynke hyt no thyng
- 62 expedyent to *commyt* to them any such authoryte *and*
 pryncely powar, wych ys to syngular vertue *and* most
perfayt wysdome only due *and* conuenyent. For
 though hyt be so that some one may chaunce by succes-
 syon to be borne worthy of such authoryte, yet thys ys
- 67 sure,—bycause syldom that happenyth, *and* many for
 one be no thyng worthy the same,—that bettur hyt ys
 to the state of the *commyn* wele, to restreyne from the
 prynce such hye authoryte, *commyttyng* that only to the
commyn counseyl of the reame *and* *parlyamente* as-
 semblyd here in our cuntrey. For such prerogatyfe in
 powar grauntyd to pryneys ys the destructyon of al
- 74 lawys *and* pollycy. Thys you may almost in experyence
 dayly see; for ther be few lawys **and* statutys, in
parlyamentys ordeynyd, but, by placardys *and* lycence
 opteynyd of the prynce, they are broken *and* abrogate,
and so to the *commyn* wele dow lytyl profyt; euen lyke
 as dyspensatyonys haue dow in the Popys law, wych
 80 hathe byn the destructyon of the law of the church.

It is all very well
 if the prince is
 worthy, but very
 pestilent if he
 is unworthy:

[* Page 154.]

as, for one worthy
 there are many
 unworthy.

It is better to
 rule by a parlia-
 ment.

Prerogatyfe.¹

Licence from the
 king, like dis-
 pensations from
 the Pope, do
 harm.

[* Page 155.]

¹ In margin of MS.

Wherfor tyl thys be redressyd, lytyl schal hyt avayle to 81
 deuyse neuer so gud statutys, ordynanceys, *and* lawys,
 wych now be but as snarys set for a tyme, aftur, at the
 lyberty of the prynce, to be losyd agayne. Thys ys the
 rote *and* mother of many mysorduris here in our cuntrey. 85

Nor you schal not thynke that a prynce were then in
 wors case then any of hys lordys, wych hath lyberty to
 dow what he wyl ; but, contrary, forasmuch as to folow
 reson ys veray true lyberty, the prynce ys no thyng in
 boundage therby, but rather reducyd to true lyberty. 90

A prince would
 not then be in
 worse case than
 his lords.

And whereas you say the kyng ys aboue hys lawys,
 that ys partely true *and* necessary, *and* partely both
 false *and* pernyceyouse. *And* schortly to say, so long as
 the kyng ys lyuely reson, wych ys the only hode *and*
 rular of reamys by the ordur of nature, so long, I say, 95

he ys aboue hys lawys, wych be but, as you wyl say,
 rayson dome, hauyng no powar to consydur the cyrcum-
 staneys of thyngys ; but when the prynce ys lyuely, or,
 rather, dedely affectyon, then, I say, he ys subiecte to 99

hys lawys, *and* bounden to be obedyente to the *same,
 wych obedyence ys, in dede, true lyberty. For, be you

[* Page 156.]

assuryd, thys ys a grete faute in euery reame,—any one
 man to haue such authoryte to dyspense wyth the com-
 myn lawys *and* wyth the transgressorys *and* brekarys of
 the same ; to dystribute al grete promocyons *and*
 offyce ; to make *and* breke legys *and* peace wyth other
 natyouns *and* prynceys about ;—to leue, I say, al such 107

It is a great
 fault for one man
 to be able to
 dispense with
 the laws, and it is
 the gate to all
 tyranny.

thyngys to the fre wyl *and* lyberty of one, ys the open
 gate to al tyranny. Thys ys the grounde of the de-
 structyon of al cyuylyte, thys enteryth *and* turnyth vp so
 downe al polytyke ordur *and* rule. For thys ys sure—
 the wyt of one commynly can not compas so much as
 the wyt of many in materys of pollycey ; for hyt ys
 commynly sayd “many yes see bettur then one.” Wher-
 for, to be schort, *and* so to conclude, to attribute so
 much to the wyl *and* plesure of one, can not be wythout

One can't com-
 pass as much
 as many ;

“many eyes see
 better than one.”

To give so much
 power to one is

the ruin of the
commonwealth.

L. is surprised
at this, and
thinks a prince,
without the
authority of a
prince, would
give much
trouble to the
commons.

the grete ruyne *and* destructyon of the *commyn* wele,
and of al gud *and* iust pollycy.

4. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, I maruayle much at your *communi-*
cation ; for me semyth you alow the state of a prynce,
and wold not but that we schold be gouernyd therby,
and yet you wyl not gyue hym the authoryte of a prynce,
wych stondyth in thys, that by hys regal powar gyuen

124 to hym by the consent of the hole *commynys*, he may
moderat al thyng accordyng to hys plesure *and* wyl ; or
els hyt schold be necessary to cal veray oft the *commyn*
conseyl of *parlyament*, and so oft as any grete causys
incydent requyryd the same, wych *perteyne* to the hole

[* Page 157.] body of the *reame ; wych were no smal trowbul to the
commyns of thys reame. Therfor I can not see but yf

131 you wyl haue a kyng, you must also gyue hym the
powar *perteynyng* to the maiesty of the same.

P. says if they
were chosen for
their virtues,

5. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*, yf kyngys *and* prynceys in
reamys were by electyon chosen, such as, of al other,
for theyr pryncely *vertues*, were most worthy to rule,
hyt were then veray conuenient they schold haue al
such authoryte as ys *annexyd* to the same ; but sythen

they might have
authority,

138 they be not so, but come by successyon, you see they be
syldom of that sorte, as I sayd before, but, rulyd by
affectyon, draw al thyng to theyr syngular lust, vayn
plesure, *and* inordynat wyl. Hyt can not be denyd but

but usurped
authority, or
authority by
prerogative,
is pernicious ;
and though we
have a wise
prince now,
still it is a fault,

to the *commyn* wele such authoryte, other vsurpyd or
by prerogatyue gyuen therto, ys *pernycouse and* hurt-
ful to the *commyn* wele ; *and* here in our cuntrey (frely
to speke betwyx you *and* me) a grete destructyon to our
cuntrey, wych hath byn *perceyuyd* by our for-fatherys
days, at dyuerse *and* manytymys, *and* schold be also now,

148 yf we had not a nobul *and* wyse prynce, wych ys euer
content to submyt hymselfe to the ordur of hys conseyl,

no thyng abusyng hys authoryte. But *al be hyt
that he of hys gudnes abusyth hyt not at al, yet, to vs

152 wych now study to fynd al fautys in the pollycy *and*

[* Page 158.]

rule here of our cuntrey, hyt may wel appere to be 153
 notyd as a grete faute, for as much as he may abuse hyt as he may abuse
 yf he wyl, *and* no restreynt ys had therof by the ordur his authority if
 of our law ; but rather, by law such prerogatyue ys he will.
 gyuen to hym, in so much that, as you sayd ryght wel
 before, hyt ys almost treson to speke any thyng agayne 158
 the same. Therfor we may not dowte but hyt ys a
 faute, *and* much more the greuous bycause we are bend
 to the defence of the same, *and* skant perceyue thys
 grefe in our pollycy.

6. *Lvpset.*—Sir, thys I can not deny, but that a L. asks how the
 faut ther ys, as me semyth, therin ; but how hyt schold fault can be
 be redressyd *and* reformyd agayne, I can not yet se, but redressed ?
 by much more inconuenyence insuyng the same. 166

7. *Pole.*—Wel, as for that, we schal see when tyme P. replies,
and place hyt schal requyre. Now let vs bo[l]dly We'll see about
 affyrme thys to be a grete mysordur in the polytyke rule that another
 here of our cuntrey, seyng the kyngys here are taken by time.
 successyon of blode, *and* not by fre electyon, wych ys successyon of
 in our pollycy a nother grete faute *and* mysordur also, blode.¹
and of vs now speccially to be notyd, seyng that we haue 173
 purposyd before, euer as a marke to schote vnto, the
 veray *and* true commyn wele, wych can not long stond
 in such state whereas pryncys are euer had by successyon
 of blode ; *speccially yf we wyl gyue vnto hym suche Kings by suc-
 regal *and* pryncely powar as we dow in our cuntrey ; for cession are a
 though some tyme hyt may fortune such a prynce to be [* Page 159.]
 borne wych wyl not abuse such powar, yet, for the great fault, as
 most parte, the contrary wyl haue place. Wherfor we they generally
 now, wych seke the best ordur, must nedys confesse thys abuse their power.
 thyng to be a faute in pollycy ; for in al lawys *and* po-
 lytyke ordur, thys ys a rule—such thyng to determe as,
 for the most parte, ys best, though some tyme the con- 185
 trary may happun *and* fal. How say you, ys hyt not
 so, *Master Lvpset* ?

¹ In margin of MS.

L. hardly knows
what to say;
while Pole's
reasons seem
probable,
experience seems
to be against
them.

Nothing more
hurtful than civil
war, and

[* Page 160.]

if we chose our
king by election,
civil war would
surely arise.

P. says though
Lupset's reasons
seem to be good,
they are easily
answered.

8. **Lvpset**.—Syr, in thys mater I *can* skant tell you what I schal say; for a the one parte, when I here your resonys, me seme they are probabyl *and* lyke the truth, but a the other syde, when I loke to the experience, and consydr the manerys, custome, *and* nature here of our cuntrey,¹ me semyth the contrary, *and* that hyt schold be veray expedyent to haue our prynce by successyon of blode, *and* not by electyon; in so much as the ende of al lawys *and* polytyke rule ys to kepe the cytyzyns in vnyte *and* peace and per fayte concorde among themselfe. For in no cuntrey may be any grettur pestylens, or more pernyceouse, then cyuyle warre, sedycyon, *and* dyscordys among the partys of the polytyke body. Thys ys the thyng that hathe * destroyd al commyn wellys, as to you hyt ys bettur known then to me. Werfor we must beware of al occasyon of such myscheffe, to the wych, aftur myn opynyon, your sentence makyth a way. For what thyng may be deuysyd occasyon of more stryffe among vs, then to chese our kyng by electyon of lordys *and* perys of the reame? For then euery man wold be kyng, euery man wold jage hymselfe as mete as a nother; *and* so, ther schold be facyon *and* partys, wyth grete ambycyon *and* enuy; *and* so, also, at the end, euer sedycyon *and* cyuyle warre.
- 212 For our pepul be of that nature that, yf they had such lyberty, surely they wold abuse hyt to theyr owne destructyon. Therfor, me semyth, for as much as we be vsyd to take our prynce by successyon of blode, thys
- 216 fre electyon that you so prayse may not be admyttyd.

9. **Pole**.—Wel, Master Lvpset, nothwystondyng that by gud reson you seme to defend thys custome long vsyd in our reame *and* natyon, yet, yf we remembyr our purpos wel *and* ordur of resonnyng, hyt schal be no thyng hard to take away your reson at al. Thys you
- 222 know ys our purpos,—to fynd out the best ordur that,

¹ "pepul" written above.

by prudent pollycey, may be stablyschyd in our *reame [* Page 161.]
and cuntrey, *and* to fynd al fautys wych repugne to the
same, of the wych thys I notyd to be one pryncypal 225
and chefe. For what ys more repugnant to nature,

then a hole natyon to be gouernyd by the wyl of a
prynce, wych euer folowyth hys frayle fantasy *and* vn-
rulyd affectys? What ys more contrary to reson then al 229

the hole pepul to be rulyd by hym wych *commynly*
lakketh al reson. Loke to the Romaynys, whose *com-*
myn wele may be exampul to al other, wych, lyke as
theyr consullys, so lykewyse theyr kyngys, chose euer
of the best *and* most excellent in vertue. Ioke, also, 234

The Romans and
Greeks always
elected their
prince.

vnto Lacedemonia, *and* in al other nobul cuntreys of
Greece, where the pepul were rulyd by a prynce, *and* you
schal fynd that he was euer chosen by fre electyon.

Thys successyon of pryneys by inherytaunce *and* blode
was brought in by tyrannys *and* barbarus pryneys,
wych, as I sayd, ys contrary to nature *and* al ryght
reson ; wych you may se, also, more euydently, by suc-
cessyon in priuate famyls, wherin you see that yf the
sone be prodygial *and* gyuen to al vyce *and* foly, the
father ys not bounde to make hym hys heyre ; where as 244

Succession by
inheritance was
brought in by
tyrants.

ys gud pollycey, but hath lyberty to chose hym anoother
where as he thynkyth conuenyent *and* best. Much
more hyt ys to be admyttyd in a reame, that yf the
prynce be not mete to succede hys father, that then a
nother ys to be *chosen by the fre electyon of the cyty-

[* Page 162.]

zys in the cunte. Wherfor we may thys surely con-
clude, that best hyt ys for the conseruatyon of polytyke 251

ordur *and* iust pollycey, a prynce to be chosen by fre
electyon at lyberty. And yet, *Master Lvpset*, I wyl
not say nor affyrme, but as the state of our reame
ys, *and* here in our natyon, hyt ys bettur to take hym
by successyon of blode, for the avoydlyng of al such
dyscorde, debate, *and* confusyon as you before sayd ; but,
Master Lvpset, that ys not best of hys nature, wych, of 258

Still he thinks
it best in our
country to take
our prince by
succession.

- 259 ij thyngys wych both be yl, ys only the bettur. Troth
 As our people and country now are, hyt ys, as our pepul be now affectyd, *and* as the state
 succession is bad, of our reame ys, yl hyt ys to take our prynce by succes-
 and free election worse, syon, *and* much wors by fre electyon; and yet yf we
 wyl stablysch a true commyn wele wythout al tyranny,
 264 *and* wythout al wrechydnes of the pepul *and* mysery,
 we must nedys graunte thys best to be, *and* most con-
 uenyent to nature, to take a prynce electyd *and* chosen
 of al other for hys wysdome *and* vertue most worthy
 to reyne. We may not consydur what ys best *and* most
 269 conuenient to our pepul now as they be, but what
 schold be most conuenient to them gouernyd *and* rulyd
 by cyuyle ordur *and* resonabul lyfe, accordyng to the
 excellent dygnyte of the nature of man. *And* thys ther
 ys no repugnance betwyx your opynyon *and* myne in
 thys grete mater, for both be true, yf we ponder them
 afur such maner as I haue *before sayd *and* openyd at
 large. Therfor, yf you thynke best, let vs procede
 ferther in our communicacyon; for thys ys sure—both
 to gyue to our prynce such regal powar *and* hye pre-
 rogatyfe, *and* also to haue hym by successyon of blode,
 280 ys a grete faute in our pollycey *and* much dystant from
 al cyuyle ordur.

He maintains
 that both their
 opinions are
 true.

[* Page 163.]

L. can see it is
 better as we are,
 to have our king
 by succession,

but if we would
 live in true
 liberty, we should
 elect him.

10. *Lepset*.¹—*Sir*, you haue now satysfyd me ryght
 wel; for now I see that, notwythstondyng that hyt ys
 bettur, as our pepul are affecte, to haue our prynce by
 successyon of blode, yet, yf they wold lyue in true
 lyberty *and* obserue the cyuyle lyfe conuenient to the
 nature of man, best hyt were to haue hym chosen by fre
 288 electyon. Therfor, I pray you, go forward, *and* let vs
 examyn some other mysordurys in our pollytyke rule
and ordur of lyfe.

P. A like fault is
 the law of
 primogeniture.

In priuat
 succession.²

11. *Pole*.—A lyke faute vnto thys, but not so grete,
 ys in the successyon of priuate men. You know by
 the ordur of our law, the eldys[t] brother succedyth, ex-

¹ MS. Le.

² In margin of MS.

cludyng al the other from any parte of inherytaunce. 294

Thys ys a thyng, as me semyth, fer out of ordur, vtturly to exclude the yongur bretherne out of al partys of the herytage, as though they were not the chyldur of that father nor bretherne to the heyre. Reson *and* nature vtturly requyryth that they chyldur, wych be as partys of the father *and* mother, schold also be admyttyd to partys of the patrymony, that, enen lyke as *they haue brought them forth in to the lyght, so theyr godys myght maynteyn *and* succur them aftur in theyr lyfe.

Reason and nature require that children of the same parents should share the patrimony.
[* Page 164.]

302

Wherfor, vtturly to exclude them from al, as though they had commyt some grete offence *and* cryme agayn theyr parentys, ys playn agayn reson, *and* semyth to mynysch the natural loue betwyx the father *and* the chyld, *and* also increse enuy *and* hates betwyx them wych nature hath so bounden togyddur. For betwyx bretherne¹ vndowtydly thys thyng squeakyth much of the broderly loue wych nature hath plantyd *and* rotyd. *And* so thys may not be denyd to be a nother mysordur in our polytyke rule *and* gouernance.

None should be excluded as though they were guilty of crime.

309

313

12. *Lvpset*.—Syr, as touchyng thys, I maruayle much also what you mean. Me semyth you are aboute to take vtturly away our pollycy *and* hole ordur of thys our reame. You note such thyngys to be fautys wherin restyth al the honowre of our cuntrey, *and* wych ys the ground of al gud ordur *and* cyuylyte. I trow here aftur you wyl geddur *and* note many grete fautys *and* mysordurys in many other thyngys, that thys begyn of such thyng wych I *and* many mo take for gud law *and* pollycy.

L. marvels much at Pole, who esteems as faults what others honour.

318

323

13. *Pole*.—Wel, as for that, *Master Lvpset*, you know wel that we purpos not to touch al fautys in our maner of luyng; for that, as I sayd at begynnyng, wer insynyte *and* grete folly, but only to note such thyngys as in general repugne to the commyn wele

P. says to try to treat of all faults were folly.

328

¹ "brother *and* brother," written aboue.

329 before descrybyd, *and* such as, for the most parte, are
 [* Page 165.] taken for no fautys at al; *of the nombur of whome ys
 thys wych we speke of now, *and* other perauenture we
 schal, as tyme requyryth, open *and* touch. But, Master
 Lvpset, to retorne to the purpos, let me here a lytyl
 your mynd in thys mater some what more at large.

P. asks what
 L. thinks about
 the laws of
 inheritance.

335 14. *Lvpset*.—Syr, wyth a gud wyl. Fyrst, me thynk-
 yth that thys may be a sure *and* certayne ground for the
 rest of our communycatyon—that lawys are made for
 the pepul, *and* for the ordur of them, *and* not the pepul
 for the lawys; the wych, therfor, must be applyd some
 what to the nature of them. Wherefore, al such lawys,

L. says laws
 were made for
 the people, not
 the people for
 the laws:

341 ordynyancys, *and* statutys, wych conteyne the pepul
 in gud ordur *and* rule, are to be alowyd *and* iustely to
 be receyuyd. Thys, I thynke, was wel consyderyd of
 them wych fyrst instytute thys law of inherytaunce.

Englishmen are
 rude, and must
 have heads or
 governors;
 and these heads
 are preserved
 by this law of
 inheritance.

They wel consyderyd the nature of our pepul, wych by
 nature be somewhat rude *and* sturdy of mynd, in so
 much that yf they had not in euery place some hedys
and gouernarys to tempur theyr affectys rude *and* vnruely,
 theyr wold among them be no ordur at al; *and* ther-

350 for hyt was not wythout cause, as hyt apperyth, or-
 deynynd *and* stablyschyd, that in euery grete famyly the
 eldyst schold succede, to maynteyne a hede, wych, by
 authorityte, dygnyte, *and* powar, schold bettur conteyne

354 the rudenes of the pepul. For thys ys both certayn
and sure—that yf the landys in euery grete famyly
 were dystributyd equally betwyx the bretherne, in a
 smal processe of yercys they hede famyls wold dekey,
and by lytyl *and* lytyl vtturly vanysch away; *and* so
 they pepul schold be wythout rularys *and* hedys, the

If lands of great
 families were
 divided between
 brothers, the
 families would
 decay.

360 wych then, by theyr rudenes *and* foly, wold schortly
 dysturbe thys quyat lyfe *and* gud pollycey, wych by
 many agys they haue lade here in our cuntre: such
 schold be the dyssensyon *and* dyscorde one wyth another.

[* Page 166.]

And so, me semyth, the mayntenance of thes hedys *ys

the mayntenaunce of al cyuyle ordur *and* polytyke rule 365
 here in our natyon. Wherfor, *Master Pole*, yf you take
 thys away, hyt apperyth playnly you schal take away
 the foundatyon *and* ground of al our cyuylte; and,
 besyd thys, you schal therwyth bryng in the ruine of
 al nobylte *and* auncient stokkys. For yf you from no- 370
 bullys onys take theyr grete possessyonys, or mynystur
 any occasyon to the same, you schal, in processe of
 yerys, confounde the nobyllys *and* the commynys to-
 geddur, aftur such maner that ther schalbe no dyfferens
 betwix the one *and* the other. Thys apperyth to me, 375
 except, *Master Pole*, you can answe to thes resonys,
 wych seme playnly to conclude contrary to your sen-
 tence. For as touchyng that you say thys maner of in-
 herytance to be contrary to the law of nature, that I can
 not graunt, for as much as the dyspo[sy]tyon of thes
 worldly godys lyth not euer in the fre wyl of man, to
 dyspose at hys lyberty; but, by ordur of law cyuyle,
 may be dysposyd, orduryd, *and* bounden to the mayn-
 tenance of gud pollycy, the wych repugnyth, aftur my
 jugement, no thyng at al to the law of nature *and* 385
 honesty.

Take away this
law, and you ruin
our nobility,
and level them to
the commons.

He cannot grant
that it is contrary
to the law of
nature.

15. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, notwythstandyng
 your resonys seme to be strong *and* of grete weyght, yet
 yf we can put before our yes the commyn wele before
 declaryd, hyt schal not be hard to make to them answer. 390
 How be hyt, they *haue also somewhat of the truth
 mynglyd with al; for surely aftur, as you say, the
 rudenes of our pepul requyryth hedys *and* gouernourys
 to conteyne them in ordur *and* quietnes, *and* though
 hyt be not necessary at al, yet in grete fauyllys thys
 maner of successyon may be sufferyd ryght wel. How 396
 be hyt, some prouysyon for the second bretherne, by the
 ordur of law, also wold be had, *and* not to leue them
 bare to the only curtesy of theyr eldyst brother, whose
 loue oft-tymys ys so cold *and* weke, that he may wel 400

[* Page 167.]
 P. grants that
the people need
"heads," but
surely the
younger sons
might have some-
thing.

In great houses
primogeniture
may be borne,
but not among
"gentlemen of
mean sort."

Of this we may
take example
from the Romans,

whose children
equally divided
the inheritance.

[* Page 168.]

This fault came
of entailing lands,
whereby every
Jack would be a
gentleman.

L. says this is a
fault,

- 401 suffyr hys brethern to lyue in grettur pouerty then ys
conuenient to theyr nobylyte. But yf you wold suffyr
thys addyceon *and* moderatyon to be yoynyd therto,
your resonys schold proue ryght wel, in grete housys
(as pryncys, dukys, erlys, *and* baronnys) such maner of
successyon to be alowyd as conuenient. But now, a
the other parte, to admytt the same *commynly* among
al gentylnen of mean sorte, what so euer they be, thys
ys not tollerabyl; thys ys almost, as you sayd, agayn
410 nature *and* al gud cyuylte; for thys bryngyth in
among the multytude ouer grete inequalyte, wych ys the
occasyon of dyssensyon *and* debate. You may take of
thys exampul of the auneyent Romaynys, whose lawys,
me semyth, be drawen out of nature; wyth whome al
415 herytagys be equally dyuydyd by ordur of law, *and* not
left to the affectyon of the father, wych *commynly* ys
more bent to one chyld then to a nother; but euen as
they be of nature wythout dyfferens brought forth, so
wythout dyfferens they equally succede in theyr inheryt-
ance left to theyr famyly. And thys, *Master Lvpset*,
*you may see how that both your resonys *and* myn also
may haue place, yf they be wel applyd *and* indyfferently
weyd; for euen lyke as hyt ys among the nobylls con-
uenient to succede aftur such maner, for the mayntenance
425 of the hedys *and* of nobylyte, so hyt ys agayn reson *and*
al cyuyle ordur to admyt the same among al the pepul
commynly. But, *Master Lvpset*, thys faute sprange of
a certayne arrogancy, wherby, wyth the intaylyng of
landys, euery Jake wold be a gentylman, *and* euery
430 gentylman a knyght or a lord, as we schal schow here
aftur in hys place. Wherfor, *Master Lvpset*, now yf
you thynke thys to be a faute, aftur such maner as hyt
ys now declaryd, let vs procede, *and* seke out for other
434 of the same sorte.

16. *Lvpset*.—Syr, you say wel; for surely you haue
so in few wordys declaryd your mynd in thys behalfe,

that I can not deny but that herin lyth a mysordur ; but 437
 at the begynnyng hyt apperyd a veray strange thyng
 vturly to take away our maner of successyon, wych so
 many yerys hath byn alowyd, *and*, as me thought, not
 wythout grete reson. I thynke also, veryly, that at the
 fyrst ordynance of our lawys, euen as you say, that thys 442
 maner of successyon was only in grete famylys, *and* yet
 not wythout some prouysyon for the other bretherne, as
 they haue yet in Fraunce, Flaundres, *and* in Italy ;
 [where] the second brother hath euer some castel or towne
 appoyntyd to hym *by the ordur of theyr law *and* cus-
 tome in euery grete famyly. But truly I can not but
 confesse thys maner, to be receyuyd among al men of 449
 mean state *and* degre, to be vturly agayne al gud cyuy-
 lyte, *and* wythout fayle rysyth of the ground that you
 wel haue notyd. I haue euer thought thys maner of
 intaylyng of landys *commynly* not to be alowyd by juste
 pollycy. Wherfor, me thynke, thys ys a faute worthy
 now to be spoken of also ; for thys-intaylyng, specyally
 aftur such maner only to the eldyst sone in euery base 456
 famyly, makyth many rechles heyrys, causyth them
 lytyl to regard nother lernyng nor vertue, in as much
 as they are sure to be inherytarys to a grete poreyon of
 intaylyd land ; and so, by thys assurans, they gyue
 themselfe to al vanyte *and* plesure, wythout respecte. 461
 The wych, I thynke, they wold not dow yf they were
 in dowte of such possessyonys, and the hole inherytaunce
 to hang upon theyr behauour *and* beryng.

17. **Pole.**—As for that, *Master Lvpset*, the law doth
 command no such intaylyng, but *permyttyth* hyt only. 466

18. **Lvpset.**—Mary, that ys the thyng also that
 I reprove ; for though in grete housys such intaylyng
 may be suffryd for the mayntenance of the famyly, yet
 in the basse famylys, *commynly* thys to be admyttyd,
 *surely hyt ys no thyng conuenient, for as much as hyt

and instances
 France and Italy,
 where the other
 sons are provided
 for.

[* Page 169.]

He speaks of the
 fault of entailing
 lands, especially
 in base families.
 Intaylyng of
 landys.¹

[* Page 170.]

¹ In margin of MS.

472 bryngyth in grete inequalyte, *and* so much hate *and* malyce among the commynalty. Wherfor thys ys no smal erre in the ordur of our law, *and* may wel be couplyd wyth the other.

P. goes on to speak of the ills which arise from holding lands by knight's service,

19. *Pole*.—Let vs admyt hyt then to be so, *and* go forward. Ther ys a nother maner and custume touching thes heyrys in our cuntrey, no lesse, aftur my mynd, to be reprouyd, then the other before notyd ; *and* that

Abuse in wardys.¹

ys thys :—you know wel wyth vs, yf a man dye wych holdyth hys landys by knyghtys seruyce of any superyor,

482 leuyng hys heyre wythin age, hys landys fal in to the handys of the sayd superyor *and* lord ; he duryng hys nonage to be in the ward, tutyon, *and* gouernaunce of the same. Thys apperyth to me fer agayn reson. Fyrst, hyt ys nothyng conuenyent the heyre to be in gouernaunce *and* rule of hym wych ys to hym nother kyn nor

when the heir, being left under age, is subject to those who are not related to him.

488 alye, by the reson wherof he hath lytyl regard of hys bryngyng vp in lernyng *and* vertue ; *and*, ferther, hys landys to be in the handys of hys superyor, wythout any counte therof to be had, ys yet les conuenyent **and*

[* Page 171.]

492 more agayne reson, specyally seyng they haue also such powar apouon they heyre, that they may, afturward, mary hym at theyr lyberty wyth whome they thynke best *and* most for theyr profyt. Thys, me semyth, ys a playne seruytute *and* iniury, *and* no guard, to be admytyd in gud pollycy. How say you to thys, Master Lvpset, thynke you not so ?

They may marry him to whom they will.

L. thinks this custom just and reasonable,

20. *Lvpset*.—Syr, ther be many thyngys here in our cuntrey wych, yf a man consydyr lyghtly *and* iuge them euenly, may appere much contrary to reson *and* gud pollycy ; but they same, a lytyl bettur consydyryd, *and* depelyar weyd, schal seme not only to be tollerabyl enough, but also iust *and* resonabul, of the wych nombur I thynke thys to be one wherof we now speke. For yf
506 you consydyr the ground *and* the ordynance of the law

¹ In margin of MS.

at the fyrst begynnyng, I suppose you wyl not so much 507
 reprove the mater as you dow. For thys we fynd in
 storys *and* in the fyrst instytutyon of our comyn law, and refers to the
 origin of the
 custom.
 that at such tyme as Wylliam the Conquerour subduyd
 our cuntrey *and* stablyschyd our lawys, certayn landys
 were gyuen out of grete famylys to inferyor personys 512
 for theyr *seruyce* downe to them before, vnder such con-
 dycyon that when so euer they decessyd, leuyng their
 heyrys wythin age, that then thes landys duryng the
 nonage schold retorne to the superior agayne, by whose
 bunfyte hyt *cam* to the famyly *and* stoke, *and* the same 517
 man also to haue such powar to mary hym as he thought
 best *and* most conuenient; how be hyt, no thyng com-
 pellyng hym therin at al, but only by gentyl *and* gud
 exhortatyon mouyng hym therto, for hys profyt *and*
 synguler comfort: the wych, me semyth, much resonabul, 522
 consyderyng *they bunfytyes come al from hym by the [* Page 172.]
 wych the hole famyly schold be maynteynd. *And* as
 for count duryng the nonage, why schold he make any,
 seyng for that tyme hyt ys as hys owne? For the landys
 were gyuen at the fyrst begynnyng vndersuch condycyon,
 as I sayd before. Wherfor hyt ys not so vnresonabyl 528
 for hym to haue both ward *and* maryage, *and* of the
 landys no thyng to be contabul.

21. **Pole.**—Wel, Master Lvpset, set what face you
 wyl apon thys mater, you can not persuade me thys ordur
 to be gud, speecially when I loke to the perfayt commyn
 wele wych I wold myght be stablyschyd here in our 534
 cuntrey. Let hyt be so that at the tyme of the fyrst
 entre of the Conquerour, or tyranne (cal hym as you
 wyl) thys maner myght be for the tyme conuenient;
 but now, yf we wyl restore our cuntrey to a perfayt state,
 wyth a true commyn wele, we must schake of al such 539
 tyrannycal custumys *and* vnresonabyl bandys, instytute
 by that tyranne when he subduyd our cuntrey *and*
 natyon. I can not deny but, as you say, they wych but owns that
 they who gave

P. cannot be
 persuaded that
 the custom is
 good,

the land had
power to make
conditions;

¹ MS. so such.

[* Page 173.]

gaue theyr landys to theyr *seruantys* myght put such¹
condycyon both of ward *and* maryage; *and* so hyt may
appere somewhat resonabul al theyr successorys to be
bounde, aftur that maner, to them wych consydur the
tyme of the tyranne. But we must loke a lytyl *hyar,
548 *and* consydur the tyme of nature to the wych we wold
forme our *commyn* wele; *and* then we schal fynd thys
bondage to be vnresonabul among cyuyle pepul purpos-
yng to lyue in a just pollycy. Wherfor, Master Lvp-
552 *set*, let vs no more dowte of thys mater.

and L., acknow-
ledging that it
"smells of
tyranny," gives
it up.

22. *Lvpset*.—Syr, you euer stoppe my mouth wyth
thys consyderatyon of the *perfayt* state; to the wych,
wythout fayle, thys maner dothe somewhat repugne; for
surely hyt smellyth a lytyl of tyranny. Wherfor,
557 bycause I wyl not wyth no sophystycal reson repugne
to the manyfest truthe *and* equitye, therfor I wyl confesse
thys to be a grete erre in our *commyn* wele *and*
pollycy, without ferther lettyng you to procede in the
rest of your communycatyon.

P. thinks he does
well, as it will
save time.

23. *Pole*.—Master Lvpset, therin you dow wel; for
yf you schold tary our communycatyon wyth sophystycal
argumentys, we schold not thys day note halfe the erorys
565 wych I purpos to talke wyth you of. For ther ys no-
thyng so true *and* manyfest, but the suttylty of mannys
reson may deuyse somethyng to say contrary, *and* to im-
pugne the same, as in thys wych now I wyl speke of,
wych, me semyth, ys so manyfest an erre in our law,
570 that no man may hyt deny; *and* yet I can not thynke
but you wyl fynd somewhat to lay agayne hyt.

L. will never
object for the
sake of victory.

[* Page 174.]

24. *Lvpset*.—Hyt may wylbe; but I promys you,
as I haue sayd befor, I wyl not repugne for no study
nor desyre of victory, but only for the inuentyon of the
truth *and* equitye; for you know *wel that dowtyng
and laying somewhat agayne the truth makyth hyt oft-
tymys to appere more manyfest *and* playn. Therfor
let vs see what thyng hyt ys that you thynke so many-
579 fest a faute.

25. **Pole.**—Syr, hyt ys touchyng appellatyonys in causys *and* remouyng by wrytt. You know ryght wel hyt ys wyth vs *commynly* vsyd, that yf any man haue any controuersy in the schyre where he dwellyth, yf he be purposed to vex hys aduersary, he wyl by wryte remoue hys cause to the court at Westmynstur; by the wych mean oft-tymys the vniust cause *preuaylyth*, in so much as the one party ys not *perauentur* so abul as the other to wage hys law, *and* so justyce ys oppressyd, truth ouerthrowne, *and* wrong takyth place. Thys, me thynk, ys playn, except you haue any thyng to lay agayne hyt.

Abuse by remouyng by wrytte.¹
P. goes on to complain of the removal of causes by writ.

585

590

26. **Lvpset.**—Syr, as touchyng thys mater, me thynke you dow amys; for you lay the faute, wych ys in the party, to the ordynance of the law, for the parte ys to blame wych thys wyl vex hys aduersary for hys plesure or profyt; but the ordynance of the law ys gretely to be alowyd, wych, for bycause oft-tymys in the schyre by partys, made by affectyon *and* powar, materys are so borne *and* bolsteryd that justyce can not haue place wyth indyfferency, hath ordeynyd that by wryte *the cause myght be remouyd to London to indyfferent judgement, where as the partys be nother of both knowen nor by affectyon fauoryd. Therefore in the law, touchyng thys behalfe, I thynke ther ys no faute at al.

L. says the blame rests with the party who removes the case, not with the law.

597

602

[* Page 175.]

27. **Pole.**—Then, Master Lvpset, me thynke you pondur not al wel *and* depely. For thought hyt be trothe, as you say, a faute ther ys in the one party, wych so malyciously vexyth the hys aduersary, yet the law therby ys not excusyd, wych so *seruyth* to the malyce of man, so lyghtly admyttyng the remouyng of the cause before sentence be gyuen, *and* before hyt be knowen *perfyttely* whether the mater schold be borne by any powar or partys in the schyre or not; for in such case, as you say ryght wel, appellatyon ys necessary *and* re-

P.'s answer is that the law should only allow removal after just cause ascertained.

610

614

¹ In margin of MS.

615 mouyng of the cause to indyfferent jugement. But as
 Causes ought not to be removed out of the shire, or to a higher court,
 the ordur ys, I thynke you see ther ys faute, bothe in the party *and* in the maner of the law, *and* that not only in remouyng by wryte materys out of the schyre, but lyke wyse from the jugys of the commyn law to the

620 chauncery *and* to the hyar counsel by iniunetyon; the wych thyng, as hyt apperyth, lettyth much justyce *and* trowblyth the hole ordur *and* processe of the law. How say you, Master Lvpset, thynke not you thys to be truth?

and to this L. agrees.

28. Lvpset.—Syr, wythout fayle, I can not deny but other the law other the mynysterys therof, are

626 somewhat to esy in grauntyng *and* admyttyng such appellatyon *and* iniunetyon before the materys exanynd *and* tryed, other in the cuntrey *or before the jugys in the commyn law; for thys were resonabul, that at the lest they schold tary tyl the party found hymselfe greuyd wyth the sentence wych he jugyd to be wronge-

[* Page 176.]

632 fully gyuen. Thys ys vndowtydly a grete faute in the ordur of our law, *and* causyth many pore men to be wrongefully oppressyd. Therfor, agreyng apon thys, let vs go forward.

Faute in long sutys.¹
 P. has another complaint: suits take sometimes four years to determine which might be finished in fewer days.

29. Pole.—Ther ys also a grete faute wych apperyth concernyng the processe in sutys of causys. I see many mennys materys heng in sute ii, iiij, or iiij yere *and* more, *and* can not be fynysehyd; the wych causys of themselfe be not so obscure but the[y] myght be defynyd in fewar days then they heng yerys, the wych, me thynke, can not be wythout some faute in the ordur

643 of the law. For though hyt be so that thes hungry aduocatys *and* cormorantys of the court study much to delay causys for theyr lucre *and* profyt, yet I thynke hyt can not be denyd but ther ys some faut also in the ordur of the law *and* in pollycy. For thys ys sure—yf hyt were wel ordryd, justyce schold not be so defettyd, nor the
 649 processe therof so be stoppyd, by euery lyght *and*

¹ In margin of MS.

couetouse *sergeant*, *proktor*, or *attornay*. Wherfor me 650
 thynke we may justely nombur thys among the other
 before notyd. How thynke you, *Master Lvpset*, ys
 hyt not so?

30. *Lvpset*.—Syr, schortly to say, thys I dow
 thynke, that yf they mynystres were gud, I suppose ther
 * wold be no grete faute found in the processe of the
 law nor ordur of the same ; for the couetouse *and* gredy
 myndys of them destroyth al law *and* gud pollycy,
 wych ys a maruelouse thyng, to see them wych were 659
 fyrst instytute for the mayntenance *and* setting forward
 of true justyce *and* equyte, now to be the destructyon
 of the same wyth al iniury.

L. says it is
 wonderful to see
 things which
 were instituted
 [* Page 177.]
 for good, made
 ill.

31. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, thys ys no dowte,
 the mynysters be the gretyst cause of al such mysor- 664
 durys ; but yet thys may not be denyd, as me thynke,
 but that ther ys a lake also in the ordur of the law at
 the lest ; for as much as hyt suffryth such delays by false
 mynystres, *and* makyth no prouysyon therfore, hyt can
 not be excusyd. 669

P. thinks minis-
 ters are the
 greatest cause of
 "misorders."

32. *Lvpset*.—Syr, as touchyng that, I aggre to you
 also, that ther ys a certayn lake also in the ordur of the
 law.

33. *Pole*.—That ys enough now to vs, whose purpos 673
 ys to serch out the commyn errorys, fautys, *and* defectys
 in our polytyke rule. Therfor let vs proccede aftur the
 maner begun. Me thynke, to descende to thys parte,
 the ordur of our law also in the punnyschment of theft
 ys ouer-strayte, *and* faylyth much from gud cunlyte.
 For wyth vs, for euery lytyl theft, a man ys by *and* by
 hengyd wythout mercy or pyte ; wych, me semyth, ys
 agayne nature *and* humanyte, specyally when they steyle
 for necessity, wyt[h]out murdur or manslaughter com- 682
 myttyd therein.

Punnyschment of
 theft.¹

P. says for every
 little theft men
 are hanged with-
 out mercy.

34. *Lvpset*.—Syr, I can not tel why you schold cal

L. says the
 punishment can-

¹ In margin of MS.

not be too severe:
it does not deter
[* Page 178.]
men from steal-
ing.

thys ordur ouer-strayte, wych ys not yet, by al hys
straytenes, suffycient to make *felounys to be ware one
by another. I thynke yf we coud deuysen a punnysch-
ment more strayttur then deth, hyt were necessary to be
ordenyd *and* receyuyd among vs; for you know the
690 gretenes of the offence ys such agayne the commyn wel,
wych dysturbyth al quyet lyfe *and* peacybul, that no
payne ys [equal] to the punnyschment therof.

P. m: intains his
point.

35. *Pole*.—Syr, yet, me thynke, a iuste moderatyon
were to be had therin; for though hyt be so that the
695 offens be grete agayne the commyn wele, yet when hyt
ys downe apon grete necessaryte, *and* wythout murdur,
and at the fyrst tyme specyally, bettur hyt were to fynd
some way how the man myght be brought to bettur
ordur *and* frame; for by *and* by to heng hym vp, ys,
wythout fayle, ouer-strayte *and* to much seuerite. When

To harg him is
over severe.

701 hyt ys downe wythout respect, specyally consydering
that hyt avaylyth not also to the repressyng of the
faute, as, by long tyme *and* many yerys, we haue had
proue suffycient.

Can you devise
any other plan?

36. *Lvpset*.—Syr, yf ther myght be a way deuysyd
by gud pollycy wherby they myght be brough[t] to some
707 bettur ordur, hyt were not to be refusyd, but necessary
to our purpos.

We shall see.

37. *Pole*.—That we schal se here aftur in hys
place; now hyt ys enough yf you wyl confesse hyt to
be ouer-strayte.

712 38. *Lvpset*.—Yes, that ys no dowte, yf we coude
fynd a *way to tempor *and* refrayne thayr malyce by
other meane then by deth, as I thynke hereaftur you
wyl schow.

[* Page 179.]

Punnyschment of
treson.¹
P. says the
punishment for
treason is too
severe.

39. *Pole*.—Sir, in hys place thys thyng I wyl not
omyt. But now to our purpos. A lyke seuerite I
fynd in the punnyschment of treson, wherby, you know,
not only the heyre *and* al the stoke losyth hys landys,

¹ In margin of MS.

but also the credytorys holly are defaytyd of theyr dette, 720
 what so euer hyt be, wythout respecte ; wych thyng ap-
 peryth ouerstrayte also.

40. *Lvpset.*—Syr, me thynke you pondur not wel the gretnesse of thys faute, wych of al other ys the most haynouse. Wherfor the traytour ys not only to be punnyshyd in hys body *and* godys, but also in 726
 hys chyldur *and* frendys ; that, by hys exampul, other may beware of so grete a cryme.

41. *Pole.*—Syr, al thys were resonabul, ye, *and* ouerlytyl, yf they were of counseyl wyth the traytour.

42. *Lvpset.*—That, by the law ys *presupposyd and* vturly *presumyd* to be truth ; *and* in case be that they be not gylyt at al, the prynce, yf he wyl, may pardon 733
 such punmyschment.

43. *Pole.*—That ys trothe ; but thys hangyth only apou the wyl of the prynce—a veray weke thred in such a case. Wherfor, as I sayd, an excepeyon were to be requyryd by the ordur of the law, wych apperyth ouer- 738
 strayte in that punmyschment, lyke as in the other before reheryd.

44. *Lvpset.*—Syr, al be hyt here may *be much spoken in thys mater agayne your sentence, yet by cause hyt leynyth to equitye *and* consyence, aftur my mynd also, I wyl not be obstynat, but graunt thys to you, lest 744
 I schold let you otherwyse then ys conuenient now to our purpos.

45. *Pole.*—Ferther, also, in the accusyng of treson, ther ys, me semyth, ouer-grete lyberty ; for wyth vs, yf a man accuse a nother of treson, though he proue hyt not, yet he ys not punnyshyd, but frely pardonyd by the custume here vsyd, wych ys playn agayn al gud 751
 reson.

46. *Lvpset.*—Syr, in that I can not wel agre wyth you ; for in so much as they cryme ys so grete, only

¹ In margin of MS.

L. thinks he does not ponder the greatness of the crime.

The prince may pardon.

A weak thread that,

[* Page 180.]
 and this L. grants.

Accusyng of treson.
 P. says there is too much liberty in accusing of treason.

In this L. cannot agree.

755 suspycyon ys to be accusyd, wythout any dede, to the
 wych, yf ther were punnyschment greuus by the law
 appoyntyd, ther wold neuer be accusatyon tyl the dede
 were downe; *and* so the state of the commyn wele
 schold neuer be stabyl nor quyat. Wherfor, not wyth-
 760 out cause, apon suspycyon only, euery man may frely
 accuse other of treson.

Light causes of
 suspicion not to
 be admitted.

47. **Pole.**—*Master Lvpset*, you say in that ryght
 wel, that, bycause the cryme ys so grete, suspycyon only
 ys to be accusyd, so that hyt be probably conceuyd;
 765 for euery lyght suspycyon in such grete causys ys not
 to be admyttyd, as hyt ys wyth vs in custume *and* vse;
and that ys the faute only that I fynd here in our
 cuntre.

[* Page 181.]
 He who accuses
 lightly should
 be punished.

48. * **Lvpset.**—Syr, he that apon lyght suspycyon
 accusyth any man of so grete cryme, surely were worthy
 to be punnyschyd. Thys I *can* not deny; *and* so in
 772 admytting such lyght suspycyon to be accusyd, our law
 ys some what ouer-lyght agayn the accusarys.

P. now proposes
 to enter upon
 spiritual faults.

49. **Pole.**—Thes, *Master Lvpset*, are the most gen-
 eral thyngys touchyng the ordur of our commyn law,
 wych, among infynyte other, I haue pykyd out *and*
 777 thought to be notyd now at thys tyme, for the restoryng
 of a iust pollycy. Wherfor, except you remembyr any
 other, we may procede to the fautys in the sprytual
 parte callyd; for of thys body ther be also no smal
 mysordurys, *and*, *perauenture* grettur, then in thys.

Before this L.
 would mention
 another matter:

50. **Lvpset.**¹—Syr, you schal dow well, for me
 semyth you haue sayd metely in thys behalfe. How be
 hyt, I maruayle that one thyng you haue so let pas con-
 785 cernyng the commyn law, wych, though hyt be no faute
 in the ordur therof, yet me thynke hyt stondyth not
 wel. The thyng ys thys, that our commyn law ys
 wryten in the French tonge, *and* therin dysputyd *and*
 tought, wych, besyde that hyt ys agayne the commyn

Commyn law in
 French.²
 The common law
 is written in
 French,

¹ MS. Le.

² In margin of MS.

wele, ys also ignomynouse *and* dyshonowre to our natyon ; for as much as therby ys testyfyd our subiection to the Normannys. Thys thyng apperyth to me not wel ; for *commyn* law wold euer be wryten in the *commyn* tong, that euery man that wold myght vnderstond the bettur such *statutys *and* ordynancys as he ys bounden to obserue.

and testifies to our subjection by the Normans.

[* Page 182.]

51. **Pole.**—Master Lvpset, thys ys wel notyd of you ; for surely thys ys a thyng that no man by reson may wel defend. *And* the same also ys in the law of the Church, wych apperyth to me no lesse necessary to be put in our mother tong then the other.

To which P. adds church-law in Latin.

52. **Lvpset.**—Syr, as touchyng that, here aftur in hys place we may examyn *and* try out the truth herin ; for, perauenture, the reson ys not al one. For by the reson therof we are in our cuntrey constreynyd to lerne the Latyn tong, wych ys necessary to them wych wyl lyue togyddur in gud cyuylyte, bycause al the lyberal artys are conteynynd therin.

L. thinks Latin necessary.

53. **Pole.**—Wel, Master Lvpset, let vs not entur in to thys dysputatyon now, but euen, as you say, dyffer hyt to hys place, *and* now procede to the spryualty, wherin the fautys are open to the world. And fyrst, *and* aboue al other, concernyng the authoryte gyuen to the hede, or els by many yerys vsurpyd apon vs tyrannycally—I mean the authoryte of the Pope. You know he takyth apon hym the dyspensatyon of al lawys stablyschyd by God *and* man, the wych by money hys offycerys dow sel ; as hyt wer proclaymyng aftur thys maner,² “ who so euer wyl breke such lawys *and* such, let hym bryng thys some of money, *and* I schal dyspense *wyth hym.” Thys ys a intollerabul vsage *and* custume. How thynke you, Master Lvpset,³ ys hyt not thys ?

P. notes the Pope's power and his dispensations,

Authoryte of the Pope.¹

[* Page 183.]

which are intolerable.

54. **Lvpset.**⁴—Yes, truly abuse ther ys therin ; but

¹ In margin of MS.

² MS. mater.

³ MS. le.

⁴ MS. Le.

L. says the Pope's power is derived from Christ.

824 yet in the law I can not tel; for necessary hyt ys to haue one hede to moderate *and* *tempur* the straytenes of the law, or els we schold haue veray oft general counsellys; *and*, besyde that, such authoryte *commyth* to hym from our Mastur Chryst, wych in the Gospel 829 gaue that to Sayn Petur *and* to al hys successorys also. Wherfor that authoryte may not be taken away, except you wyl take away the ground of our relygyon wythal.

P. says Peter's authority was not like that which popes usurp.

55. *Pole*.—Nay, *Master Lypset*,¹ not so. I wyl not name any poynt of the Gospel at al. How be hyt, her- 834 in ys grete controuersy nowadays, the wych I wyl not here examyn; but breuely I wyl schow you myn opynyon therin: take hyt yf you lyst. I thynke the authoryte gyuen to Sayn Petur was no thyng of that sort wych nowadays the Popys vsurpe, but hyt was only to declayre penytent heartys contryte for ther syn to be 840 absoluyd from the faute therof, *and* that hyt schold be

The power to dispense with laws was given to the pope and cardinals by man.

no more *imputyd* to them. *And* as for the dyspensacyon of lawys, wych aftur were ordeynyd by *man*, was also by *man* gyuen to the See of Rome. I mean not to the person of the Pope, but to hym *and* to his College of *Cardynallys also, wych, at the fyrst, were chosen by theyr vertue *and* lernyng, men of aunceyent wysdome 847 *and* sage. They were *not* made by money, as they are now, *and* of al age, wythout respecte. Wherfor, thys ys my sentence:—the Pope hathe no such authoryte to dyspense wyth general lawys made by the Church, nother by the powar gyuen to hym by God, nor by *man*.

[* Page 184.]

The power given by God extends to absolution of sin only.

For hys powar gyuen to hym by God extendyth only to the absolutyon of syn; and that wych by *man* was gyuen, was not gyuen only to hym, but to the hole cumpany of the See of Rome: *and* so he, in abusyng thys powar, destroyth the hole ordur of the Church. Thys 857 ys clere, as I coud by many storys *conferme*, yf I thought ther were any dowte therin. But now, as I sayd,

¹ MS. le.

therfor I thynke I may affyrme grete mysordur to be in 859
the vsurpyng of thys authoryte.

56. **Lvpset.**—Syr, as touchyng the dyspensatyon, In this L. agrees.
wythout dowte grete faute ther ys ; *and* surely that he
hath no authoryte therto, but only by the consent of man,
me thynke schold be veray truth. Wherfor in the 864
abuse therof ys no les detryment to the law of the
Church, then ys to the commyn law here of our cuntre, [Page 185.]
by the prerogatyue of the prynce. Let vs therfor agre
apon thys.

57. **Pole.**—Of thys same ground spryngyth also Appelyng to
another grete mysordur, in appellatyon of such as be Rome.¹
callyd spiritual causys. In a grete cause nowadays, Appeal to Rome
sentence can not be sure nor fyrme ; for the one party is another
wyl by *and* by appele to Rome, as who say that wythin 873
our reame ther were nother wysdome nor justyce to ex-
amyn such materys. Thys ys not only grete hurte to
the commyn wele, but also grete schame *and* dyshonowre
to our cuntrey.

58. **Lvpset.**—Why, but then, me semyth, you wold L. pleads for the
no appellatyon, be the sentence neuer so iniuste, wych power of appeal.
ys agayne the ordur of any commyn wele. Whereas 880
appellatyon ys euer admyttyd to the hede *and* to hyar
authoryte. Wherfor, seyng you graunte the Pope wyth
hys College of Cardynallys to be hede, made and admyt-
tyd by the *consent* of man, you must nede admyt also
appellatyon therto. 885

59. **Pole.**—Syr, as touchyng thys, you say wel ; for In which P.
appellatyon I dow not vturly take away ; but I wold agrees.
haue hyt moderate, aftur gud reson, that euery tryfylyng
cause schold not be *referryd to Rome, as hyt hath byn [* Page 186.]
long in vse.

60. **Lvpset.**—As for that, I wyl graunte you to be a
grete faute, lyke as hyt ys in the commyn law by re-
mouyng of causys to London by wryte. 893

¹ In margin of MS.

P. What think
you of first fruits
to Rome?
Law of Ænnatys.¹

61. **Pole.**—Then let vs go forward. What thynke
you by the law of Ænnatys? Ys hyt not vnresonabyl
the fyrst frutys to run to Rome, to maynteyne the pompe
897 *and* pryde of the Pope, ye, *and* warre also, *and* dyscord
among Chrystun pryneys, as we haue seen by long
experyence?

L. thinks the
practice is
abused.

62. **Lvpset.**—Wel, Sir, that ys no more but to
schow the abuse of the thyng; for the wych you may
not vturly take away the ordynance of the law, wych
903 was euer for a gud purpos, as in thys. Thes fyrst frutys
were appoyntyd, as I conyecture, to maynteyn the ma-
iesty of our hede, *and* magnyfycence of the See, *and* also
to defend our Church from the subiectyon of the ennemys
of Chrystys fayth. Wherfor, bettur hyt were to prouyde
908 a gud vse of thes thyngys, then vturly to take them
away.

[* Page 187.]

P. says the
Emperor should
defend the
Church.

63. **Pole.**—Wel, Master Lvpset, to make you a
breue answer, I thynke thes causys that you lay now
haue no place. For, fyrst, as for the magnyfycence *and*
maiesty of the Church stondyth *not in such possessyonys
and pompe, but in stabylnes *and* puryte of Chrystyun
lyfe: thys ys a thyng clere *and* manyfest. *And* as for
the defence of the Church, [hyt] perteynyth not to the
Pope *and* hys See, but rather to the Emperour *and*
918 other Chrystun pryneys: wherfor to pyl theyr cuntreys
for thys purpos, ys not just nor resonabul; *and* thys
schortly I thynke remaynyth no just cause wy thes
annatys schold be payd to Rome.

L. says you harp
upon one string.

64. **Lvpset.**—Syr, I parceyue wel al thes thyngys
henge apon one threde. You harpe apon one stryng
contynually, wych in hys place I thynke you wyl tem-
925 pur. Therfor now, bycause I wyl not be obstynate
and offend agayn my gost, denying the playn *and*
manyfest truth, I wyl no more repugne in thes causys.

65. **Pole.**—The same mysordur that ys in appella-

¹ In margin of MS.

tyonys *and* annatys, also, to the See of Rome, ys also in appelyng to the Court of the Byschope of Canterbury, callyd the Arches, whether as causys are remouyd wythout examynatyon or sentence before gyuen in the dyosys.

66. *Lvpset*.—Ther ys no dowte but ther ys also grete abuse therin. 934

67. *Pole*.—*And* what say [you] by the prerogatyfe gyuen to the same Byschope of Cantorbury, wherby he hath the probatyon of testamente *and* the admynystratyon of intestate godys, by the reson wherof they *be sequestryd from the profyt of al the frendys of hym wych so dyed intestate, *and* be spoyld of the rauynys *and* pollyng offycerys? 941

Prerogatyf of Cantorbury.¹
Probate in the Archbishop's court an evil.

[* Page 188.]

68. *Lvpset*.—Syr, in thys ys also grete faute I can not deny.

69. *Pole*.—*And* what thynke you by the law *and* commyn ordynance wych permyttyth prestys, in such nombur as *they* are now, to be made at xxv yere of age—an offyce of so grete dygnyte to be gyuen to youth so ful of fraylty? Thys apperyth to me no thyng conuenient, *and* contrary to the ordynance of the Church at the fyrst instytutyon. 948

Yong prestys.¹

Young priests are another evil.

70. *Lvpset*.—Sir, that ys truth, *and* that ys the cause that at that tyme prestys were of *perfayt vertue*, as now, contrary, they be ful of vanyte. 953

71. *Pole*.—*And* how thynke you by the law wych admyttyth to relygyon of al sortys, youth of al age almost; insomuch that you schal see some frerys whome you wold iuge to be borne in the habyte, they are so lytyl *and* yong admyttyd therto? 959

Yong frerys.¹

Youths are admitted to religion.

72. *Lvpset*.—Surely of thys, aftur my mynd, spryngyth the destructyon of al gud *and* *perfayt* relygyon. For what thyng may be more contrary to reson then to see hym professe relygyon wych no thyng knowyth 963

They are its destruction.

¹ In margin of MS.

964 what relygyon menyth? Thys ys vndowtydly a grete
erreure in al ordur of relygyon.

Celibacy should
be abolished.

Prestys maryage.¹

73. *Pole.*—*And* what thynke you by the law wych
byndyth prestys to chastyte? Ys not thys, of al other,
most vnresonabul, speccyally in such a multytude as ther
ys now?

970 74. *Lvpset.*—Syr, in thys many thyngys may be
sayd; but bycause I wyl not repugne agayne my con-
seyence, I wyl say as Pope Pius dyd, that grete reson
in the begynnyng of the Church brought that law into
the ordur of the Church; but now grettur reson schold

The law was
introduced with
good reason.

975 take the same away agayn, *and* so I wyl confesse
that²²

[* Page 189.]

75. **Pole.*—*Master Lvpset*, you are veray esy in
the admyssyon of thes fautys in the spirituality. I
thynke you spye many thyngys amys in that ordur *and*
980 degre. Wherfor cesse not, I pray you, such to open as
now come to your memory.

L. is afraid to tell
all he knows on
this subject.

76. *Lupset.*—Syr, as touchyng thys poynt, yf I
schold recyte al that I know, I schold be tedyouse to
you playnly herin. Wherfor I wyl not entur to that
985 campe, forbycause that you haue notyd such as be most
capytal, wych, yf they were stoppyd, schold schortly
remedy the rest, wherof I wold speke.

Having noted
errors of law,

77. *Pole.*—Wel, then, *Master Lvpset*, seyng that we
haue now examynynd the most general *and* commyn
errorys wych we haue obseruyd to be in our law, both
991 sprytual *and* temporal, as they haue come to our re-
membrance now, let vs now here aftur, by lyke maner,
examyn the custumys most commynly vsyd wych seme
to repugne to gud cyuylyte.

errors of custom
come next.

78. *Lvpset.*—Mary, Syr, thys ordur ys gud; for then
we schal note *and* touch much wych ys now to our
997 purpos.

¹ In margin of MS.

² The remainder of this sentence is cut off in the binding.

79. **Pole.**—Fyrst *and* most pryncypal of al yl customys vsyd in our cuntre commynly, aftur my jugement, ys that wych touchyth the educatyon of the noblyte, whome we see custummabyly brought vp in huntyng *and* haukyng, dysyng *and* cardyng, etyng *and* drynk-
 yng, *and*, in conclusyon, in al vayn plesure, pastyme, *and* vanyte. *And* that only ys thought to perteyne to a gentylman, euen as hys propur fayte, offyce, *and* duty, as though they were borne therto, *and* to no thyng els in thys world of nature brought forth.

The evil education of the nobility.

Educatyon of noblyte.¹

1002

1007

80. **Lvpset.**—Wy, Sir, I pray, what wold you haue them to dow? Go to plow *and* to carte, or to serue some other craft to get theyr lyuyng by, as a thyng requyryd of necessitye?

L. asks what Pole would have.

81. **Pole.**—Master Lvpset, what I wold haue them to dow now, the place ys not here to schow *and* declare, wych hereaftur I wyl not omyt; but that thys they dow
 hyt ys certayn, *and* to al men by experyence knowen; wych, aftur myn opynyon, ys no smal destructyon of our commyn wele *that we now seke *and* desyre to see stab-
 lyschyd here in our cuntre; for of thys poynt hangyth a grete parte of the veray welth of the hole commynalty.

P. will tell him soon.

1014

[* Page 190.]

1019

82. **Lvpset.**—Surely thys thyng ys amys. Wherfor procede you ferther. I wyl not repugne agayn so manyfest a truthe.

83. **Pole.**—A nother yl custume among the nobylls ther ys, that euery one of them wyl kepe a court lyke a prynce; euery one wyl haue a grete idul route to wayte apon hym, to kepe hym cumpany *and* pastyme, as he that hath in hymselfe no comferte at al, nor wythin hys mynde, hart, *and* brest, no cause of inward re-
 yoyeyng, but hangyth only of vtward vanyte.

P. gives another bad custom: every noble keeps a prince-like court,

Keptyng of ouer-grete housys.¹

1027

84. **Lvpset.**—Syr, me semyth you take thys mater much amys; for now-a-days in thys, as hyt ys commynly jugyd, stondyth the honowre of England.

1032

¹ In margin of MS.

and adds, in this
stands, not the
honour, but the
beggary of
England,

85. *Pole*.—Nay, *Master Lupset*, truly to say, in
thys stondyth the beggary of Englonde, as we sayd be-
fore; speccially yf you consydyr what custume ther ys
among them wyth al, both in theyr dyat and theyr ap-
1037 payrayl. For yf the nobyllys, ye, *and* many of theyr
seruantys, be not appayraylyd in sylkys *and* veluettys,
they thynke they lake much of theyr honowre; *and* yf
they haue not at dyner *and* souper xx dyschys of dyuerse
metys, they lake they chefe poynt that *perteynyth* to
1042 theyr honowre, as they thynke, wych ys ryse *and* spronge
of a long custume, noyful, wythout fayle, to the *commyn*
wele many ways. For thys excesse in dyat bryngyth in
manyfold sykenes *and* much mysery, lyke as thys *pom-*
pos apparayle doth induce much pouerty. Thes are
thyngys as clere to al men as the lyght * of the day.

Pompos fare and
*apparayle.*¹

[* Page 191.]

1048 How thynke you, *Master Lypset*, ys hyt not thys?

which L. can't
deny.

86. *Lypset*.—Truly thes thyngys I can not deny,
and speccially thys custume of nuryshyng such an idul
trayne dysplesyth me. Hyt ys a thyng vsyd in no
cuntrey of the world I trow. A knyght or a mean
1053 gentylman schal haue as many idul men here wyth vs in
Englonde as schal in France, Spayn, or in Italy, a grete
lord, senyor of many townys *and* castellys.

87. *Pole*.—Why, but then, some man *perauenture*,
wold say *and* ax, what dow they then wyth theyr pos-
1058 sessyonys *and* ryches? Dow they hepe hyt togydur in
coffurys *and* cornarys, wythout applying hyt to any
profyt or vse?

They use their
riches better in
France.

88. *Lypset*.—Nay, not so, *Sir*, but they mary theyr
chyldur *and* frendys therwyth, *and* so kepe vp the
honowre of theyr famyly therby. You schal neuer see
non of any gud famyly, as they dow wyth vs, go a
1065 beggyng, or lyue in any grete mysery. They wyl suffur
no such dyshonowre *and* schame; but wyth vs hyt ys
contrary. I haue knowne yongur bretherne go a beg-

¹ In margin of MS.

gyng, where as the eldur hath tryumphyd *and* lyuyd in 1068
plesure, lyke a grete prynee of a cuntrey.

89. **Pole.**—Truly thys haue I knowne also. Wher-
for I *can* not but laude that custume of straungerys, *and*
dysprays ourys also, wych ys so ferre frome al gud
gentylnes *and* humanyte, of the wych sort many other 1073
also be, but thes now touchyd as most general in the
temporalty. Let vs, *Master Lupset*, * now lykewyse loke [* Page 192.]
to the custumys of the sprytualty. How thynke you by
the maner vsyd wyth our byschoppys, abbottys, *and*
pryorys, towchyng the nuryshyng also of a grete sorte
of idul abbey-lubbarys, wych are apte to no thyng but,
as the byschoppys *and* abbotys be, only to ete *and*
drynke? Thynke you thys a laudabul custume, *and* to 1081
be admyttyd in any gud pollycy?

P. passes on to
evil customs in
the Church.

Nuryshyng of
abbey-lubbarys.¹
The idle lubbers
kept by prelates.

90. **Lvpset.**—Nay, surely thys I *can* not alow, hyt
ys so eydyent a faute to euery mannys ye; for by thys
mean al the possessyonys of the Church are spent as yl
as they possessyonys of temporal men, contrary to the 1086
institutyon of the law *and* al gud cyuylyte.

L. can't allow
this.

91. **Pole.**—*And* what thynke [you] by the maner of
electyonys, both of byschoppys, abbotys, *and* priorys,
wych are made other by the prynee or some other grete
mannys authoryte? May thys be alowyd as a gud cus-
tume in our cuntre? 1091

Electyon of
byschopys *and*
priorys.¹
P. touches on
the election of
prelates,

92. **Lvpset.**—Sir, yf the ordur of the law were ob-
seruyd therin, hyt were no faute, perauenture at al, but
were ryght wele to be approuyd.

93. **Pole.**—But now, you must remembyr, we speke 1096
not of the maner of the law, but of vnresonabul custumys
wych haue more powar then any law, aftur they be by
long tyme confyrmyd *and* receyuyd commynly.

94. **Lvpset.**—Thys custume vndowtydly ys vnreson-
abyl, *and* grete destructyon of the gud ordur in the
Church rysyth therof.

which is
unreasonable;

¹ In margin of MS.

and the education
of the priests,
[* Page 193.]

Educacyon of the
clergy; they may
be brought vp in
monasterys tyl
they be of *perfayt*
vertue, and then
made *prestys*.¹

who are very
ignorant.

If priests were
only ignorant,
they might be
borne with,

but they are
vicious as well,

which even chil-
dren perceiue.
[* Page 194.]

95. *Pole*.—Ther ys a nother grete faute wych ys
the ground of al other almost, *and* that *ys concernyng
the educatyon of them wych appoynt themselfe to be
men of the Church. They are not brought vp in *vertue*
and lernyng, as they schold be, nor wel approuyd therin
before they be admyttyd to such hye dygnyte. Hyt
ys not comuenient men wythout lernyng to occupy the
place of them wych schold prech the word of God, *and*
tech the pepul the lawys of relygyon, of the wych com-
mynly they are most ignorant themselfe; for commynly
you schal fynd that they can no thyng dow but pattur
vp theyr matyns *and* mas, mumblyng vp a certayn
1109 nombur of wordys no thyng vnderstonde.

96. *Lvpset*.²—Sir, you say in thys playn truth; I can
not nor wyl not thys deny.

97. *Pole*.—Ye, *and* yet a nother thyng. Let hyt be
that they prestys were vnlearnyd, yet yf they were of
perfayt lyfe *and* studyouse of *vertue*, that by theyr ex-
ampul they myght tech other, thys ignorance yet myght
be the bettur suffuryd; but now to that ignorance ys
joynyd al kynd of vyce, al myschefe *and* vanyte, in so
1124 much that they are exampul of al vycyouse lyfe to the
lay pepul. How say [you], *Master Lvpset*, ys not thys
also a playn truthe *and* manyfest?

98. *Lvpset*.²—Yes, truly, in so much that almost
they infantys now borne into the lyght perceyue hyt
playnly. Ther ys no man that lokyth *into our maner
of lyuyng that may dowte of thys.

99. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*, you are in thys materys
veray esy to persuade. You make no obiectionys, aftur
your maner in other thyngys; wherfor I somewhat
feare that we admyt ouer-quykly thes fautys in the
Church, for some priuate hate that we bere agayne the
1136 prestys *and* prelatys therin.

100. *Lvpset*.—Syr, feare you no thyng [in] that

¹ In margin of MS.

² MS. Le.

mater; for I promys you I wyl *and* dow pondur our 1138
manerys wythout affectyon or hate, but, as nere as I can,
wyth indyfferent jugement loke vnto them.

101. [**Pole.**—*And* as for thys ignorance *and* vycy-
ouse lyfe of the clergy, no man can hyt deny but he
that, *peruerting* the ordur of al thyngys, wyl take
vyce for vertue, *and* vertue for vyce. *And* thought
hyt be so that the *temporalty* lyfe much aftur the 1145
same trade, yet, me semyth, they are not so much to
be blamyd as they wych, for the puryte of lyfe, are
callyd *spiritual*; for as much as they schold be the
lyght, as hyt ys sayd in the Gospel, vnto the other, *and*
not only by word, but much more by *exampul* of lyfe, 1150
wherby chefely they schold induce the rude pepul to the
trayn of *vertue*. Wherfor surely thys ys no smal faute
in our custume of lyfe. To the wych we may joyne
also a nother yl custume, that prestys be not resydent
apon theyr *bunfyces*, but other be in the Court or in
gret mennys housys, ther takyng theyr plesure; by the
reson wherof they pepul lake theyr pastorys, wych
geddur the wol dylygently, wythout regard of the profyt
of theyr schype. 1159

P. says the people
live much after
the same
manner.

He adds that
priests are non-
Resydence apon
bunfyces.¹
resident, and
live at court, or
in great men's
houses.

102. **Lvpset.**—Syr, thys ys as clere as the lyght of
the sone. Wherfor I wyl not repugne therin; but I
wold wysch that you myght as esely hereaftur see the
way to amend such faute as we may se hyt.

103. **Pole.**—As touchyng that we schal se, *Master* 1164
Lupset, hereaftur. How be hyt, as you sayd before,
*hyt ys wythout fayle more esy to spyte x fautyys then
to amend one, and yet ij thyngys hyt ys to correk
[and] amend errorys in dede, *and* to schow the maner
and mean how they schold be reformyd *and* amendyd.
For as the one ys ful of hardnes *and* dyffyculty, *and* by
the prouydence of God, put only in the powar of pryneys 1171
of the world, so the other ys facyle *and* esy, and open

It is easy to see
faults;
[* Page 195.]
and then speaks
of the difficulty
of amending
them.

¹ In margin of MS.

- 1173 to euery prudent man *and* polytyke ; lyke as to schow
the passage *and* way through rough *and* asper mon-
taynys ys not hard nor ful of dyffyculty, but to passe
the same ys no smal labur, trauayle, *and* payne. But
now, thys set aparte, *Master Lupset*, let vs go forth *and*
serch out other yl custumys, yf we remembyr any, here
in our cuntre. *And* herin me thynkyth hyt ys an yl¹
custume in our Church vsyd, that as dyuyne *seruyce* ys
sayd *and* song aftur such maner as hyt ys *commynly* ;
as, fyrst, that hyt ys openly rehersyd in a straunge tonge,
1183 no thyng of the pepul vnderstond ; by the reson wherof
the pepul takyth not that truth that they myght *and*
ought to receyue, yf hyt were rehersyd in our vulgare
tonge. Second, touchyng the syngyng therof, they vse
a fascyon more conuenyent to mynstrellys then to
deuoute mynystyrys of the dyuyne *seruyce* ; for playnly,
as hyt ys vsyd, thys ys truthe, speecially consyderyng
1190 the wordys be so straunge *and* so dyuersely descantyng,
hyt ys more to the vtward plesure of the yere *and* vayn
recreatyon, then to the inward comfort of the hart *and*
mynd with gud deuotyon. How say you, *Master Lvp-*
1194 *set*, ys hyt not thys as I dow say ?
104. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, in thys mater somewhat I mar-
uayle what *you mean ; for you seme to alow, by your
communycatyon, the Lutherany maner, whome I vnder-
stond³ to haue chaungyd thys fascyon long vsyd in the
Church. They haue theyr *seruyce*, such as hyt ys, al in
1200 theyr vulgare tong openly rehersyd. I wold not that
we schold folow theyr steppys. They are yl masturyss
to be folowyd in gud pollycy. But me thynk, by thys
maner, you wold also haue the Gospel *and* al the spryt-
ual law put into our tong ; *and* so by that mean you
1205 schold see as many errorys among vs here in England,

He goes on to
notice the evil of
having divine
service in Latin.

Saying of *seruyce*
in straung tong.²

Church music too
elaborate, and
better suited to
recreation than
devotion.

L. marvels that
Pole should
[* Page 196.]
approve the
Lutheran fashion

in the service ;

¹ MS. a nyl.

² In margin of MS.

³ "I vnderstond" marked through and "we haue" written over in MS.

as be now in Almayn among the Lutherans, in schort 1206
space. Wherfor, *Master Pole*, I thynke hyt ys bettur
to kepe our old facyon both in our dyuine *seruyce* *and*
in kepyng the law in a straunge tonge, then by such
new maner to bryng in among vs any dyuersyte of sectys
in relygyon. 1211

but he would
rather things re-
main as they are.

105. *Pole*.—*Master Lypset*, I se wel in thys you
wyl not be so sone *persuadyd*, as in other thyngys be-
fore you were. You are, me semyth, aferd lest we
schold folow the steppys of thes Lutherans, wych are
fallen into many errorys *and* gret *confusyon* by thys 1216
mean, as you thynke, *and* new alteratyon. But here,
Master Lypset, fyrst you schal be sure of thys. I wyl
not folow the steppys of Luther, whose jugement I
estyme veray lytyl; *and* yet he *and* hys dyseypullys be
not so wykkyd *and* folysch that in al thyngys they
erre. Heretykys be not in al thyngys heretykys. Wher- 1222

P. taxes him with
being afraid.

for I wyl not so abhorre theyr heresye that for the hate
therof I wyl fly from the *truth. I alow thys maner
of saying of *seruyce*, not bycause they say *and* affyrme
hyt to be gud *and* laudabul, but bycause the truth ys
so, as hyt apperyth to me, *and* the frute therof so many- 1227
fest; wych you schal also confesse, I thynk, yf you wyl
consydur indyfferently the mater a lytyl wyth me.

[* Page 197.]

And fyrst, thys ys certayn *and* sure—that the dyuine
seruyce was ordeynyd to be sayd in the Church for the
edyfying of the pepul, that they, heryng the wordys of
the Gospel *and* the exampullys of holy sayntys, pro-
fessorys of Chrystys name *and* doctryne, myght therby
be sterryd *and* mounyd to folow theyr steppys, *and* be 1235
put in remembrance therby of the lyuyng *and* doctryne
of our *Master Chryst*, Hys apostyllys *and* dyseypullys,
as the chefe thyng of al other to be pryntyd *and* grauyd
in al gud *and* Chrystyan hartys. Wherfor, yf thys be
true, as I thynke you can not deny, thys folowyth of 1240

The Gospel in a
straunge tong,¹
Service should be
for the edifying
of the people,

¹ In margin of MS.

and must be said
in their own
tongue, or else
we must teach
them Latin,

necessyte—that we must other haue the dyuyne seruyse to be sayd in our owne tong *commynly*, or els to pro-
uyd some mean that al the pepul may vnderstond the
Latyn *conueniently*; wych I thynke surely was the

1245 purpos of the Romaynys, when they fyrst instytute al
dyuyne *seruyse* to be rehersyd in that tong, euen lyke
as hyt was of the Normannys at such tyme when they
ordeynyd al our *commyn* lawys in the French tong to [be]
tought *and* dysputyd. But now, *Master Lupset*, seeyng

1250 that thys ys not *conuenient and* skant possybul as the
state stondyth, I thynke hyt ys bothe necessary *and*
expedyent to haue rehersyd thys dyuyne *seruyce* in our
owne vulgare *tong; yee, *and* also touchyng the Gospel,
to haue hyt holly in our tong to be *conuerted*, I thynk
of al most expedyent *and* necessary. For what reson
ys hyt, *men* to be bounden to a law, *and* to loke therof
not only the frute that ys of other *commyn* lawys, as
cyuyle concord here in thys lyfe *and* polytyke justyce

1259 *and* vnyte, but also for euerlastyng lyfe *and* perpetual
joy heraftur to be had by the obseruatyon therof; *and*
by the brekyng *and* transgressyon of the same, perpetual
damnatyon: *and* yet to haue hyt closyd in a straunge
tong, as they pepul were no thyng bounden therto nor

1264 to them wryten? I trow thys be no reson, but playn mad-
nes *and* foly. Hyt ys necessary, as I sayd before of the
commyn law, to haue hyt *conuerted* into our tong; but
of the Gospel, surely hyt ys much more necessary *and*
much more expedyent, so that hyt were wel translatyd
and by wyse counseyl examynyd, that theyr be no err-
orys therin. For as touchyng the errorys that *men* run
in now-a-days, vndowtydly hyt ys not by the reson of
the Gospel put into the vulgare tong, but rather for lake
of gud techarys *and* instructarys therin. Wherfor, that
thyng wych *commyn*th partely by the malyce of man,
and partely for lake of gud pollycy,* ys in no case to
be attrihutyd to the Gospel iustely; except we wyl at-

[* Page 198.]
The Gospel
ought to be
translated into
the vulgar
tongue, that it
may be read by
the people.

Errors do not
arise from the
Bible being
translated,

but from lack
of good teachers.
Evils which arise
from malice
ought not to be
attributed to the
[* Page 199.]
Gospel.

trybut the cause of warr to wepun, *and* the cause of al 1277

dyseasys to mete *and* drynke, *and* so vtturnly, therfor,

cast away both wepun *and* mete *and* drynke. Hyt ys

a *commyn* faute in resonyng, to lay a faute ther as now

ys, *and* to note many thyngys as causys wych indede

are not at al ; as, aftur my mynd, in thys our purpos 1282

you dow, *Master Lupset*. For surely thys dyuersyte of

opynyon now-a-days reynyng, ys no thyng to be attri-

bute to the *commynyng* of the Gospel in the vulgare

tong. Of thys dowte you no more. Wherfor let vs

wythout feare confesse thys to be a grete faute, *and* an

yl custume vsyd in our Church,—that we haue not the

Gospellys in our mother tong, *and* that we haue our

seruyce sayd in a straunge tong, of the pepul not vnder-

stond ; *and* much more the maner of syngyng, wych al

holly doctorys reprouyd in theyr tyme, when hyt was

not so curyouse as hyt ys now. Dow no more but

thynke, yf Saynt Augustyn, Jerome, or Ambrose herd 1294

our curyouse dyscantlyng *and* canteryng in churchys,

what they wold say. Surely they wold cry out apon

them, *and* dryue them out of churchys to tauernys,

comedys, *and* *commyn* plays, *and* say they were no thyng

mete to kendyl *and* styr Chrystyan hertys to deuotyoun¹ 1299

**and* loue of celestyal thyngys, but rather to ster wanton

myndys to vayn plesure *and* wordly pastyme wyth

vanyte. Of thys, *Master Lupset*,² aftur my mynd, ther

ys no more dowte ; how thynke you now ?

106. *Lvpset*.—Sir, your *communcatyoun* hathe 1304

brough[t] me to a depe *consyderatyoun*, wherby, truly, I

perceyue wel, that many thyngys here in mannys lyfe,

aftur they be vsyd, *and* by *commyn* opynyon many

yerys admyttyd, though they be neuer so repugnant to

reson *and* gud humanyte, yet to pluk them out of 1309

Do not lay faults
where there are
none.

It is a great fault
that we have
not the Gospels
in our mother
tongue,

and that our
singing is so
“curious,”

[* Page 200.]
that it is more
fitted to please
than to profit.

L. speaks of the
difficulty

¹ At the bottom of this page of the MS. the following words are written :—Prouysyon to stoppe folysch wrytarys *and* lyght bokys of the gospel.

² MS. le.

and danger of
changes.

menys hertys *and* myndys, hyt ys hard *and* ful of gret
dyffyculty ; in so much that, al reson to the contrary, a
grete wyle schal appere no reson at al, as in thys ex-
1313 ampul we may take manyfest experyence. For, vn-
dowtydly, reson concludyth bothe necessary *and* expedi-
ent to be, to haue al lawys in the vulgare tong, as hyt
hathe byn always to thys day vsyd in al other cuntreys
and wel instytute commyn welys ; as in Rome, Athenys,
and Lacedemonia. *And* yet our pepul, beyng long cus-
tumyd to the contrary, wyl not only thynke hyt straunge
and erronyouse, but also, at the fyrst begynnyng, schal
juge al relygyon to be turnyd therby vp-so-downe, ye,

The people
having been long
used to the old
custom, will
think the new
one erroneous.

1322 *and* vturly destroyd ; such ys theyr blyndnes *and* foly
only by long tyme rotyd in hart. Notwithstondyng,
Master Pole, I thynke now, to vs wych seke the mean
most conuenyent to restore the perfayt state before of
you deserybyd, hyt must nedys appere necessary to haue
al lawys, both of relygyon, *and* cyuyle *and* polytyke, in

But he agrees
with Pole that
the service should
be in English.

1328 our mother tong conuertyd, *and* al dyuine seruyce both to
be sayd *and* song in the same in euery church commynly.

[* Page 201.]

And *so, consequently, I am agred wyth you to take
thys as an yl¹ custume, repugnyng to our purpos, to haue
al closyd in thys straunge tong of the old Romanys, or

1333 rather of other barbarus pepul wych succedyd them.

The privileges
of the clergy
ought not to be
allowed.

107. **Pole.**—Master Lvpset, you say wel. But how
say [you] by the pryuylegys wych, partely by lawys
and partely by long prescriptyon of tyme *and* custume,
are gyuen to the Church *and* ecclesiastycal personys ?
Thynke you that thys ys conuenyent, that prestys
schold neuer for no offence be callyd before a secular
juge *and* punnyschyd temporally, yf they³ offend in

Exempton of
prestys *and*
relygyouse.²

1341 such fautys as requyre temporal punnyschment ; as rob-
bery, murdur, *and* theft, *and* such other lyke casys ?

L. would yield
something to
their dignity.

108. **Lvpset.**—*Sir*, I wold some thyng schold be
gyuen to the dygnyte of presthode, *and* that they

¹ MS. a nyl.

² In margin of MS.

³ MS. he.

schold not be punnyschyd wyth so grete seueryte as 1345
other be.

109. **Pole.**—I wot not what you mean by your
gyuyng somewhat to the dygnyte of presthode. Wold
you that therby they schold escape punnyschement
rather then other? Me semyth, contrary, yf they dow
amys, they schold be more punnyschyd, *and* rather then
other; forasmuch as the faute in them ys more greuous
then hyt ys in other. *And* so, by that mean, they schold

P. thinks if they
do amiss they
should be more
severely punished
than others.

1353

[* Page 202.]

be compellyd,* at the lest by feare of punnyschment,
wheras by loue they can not be inducyd, to dow that
thyng wherin stondyth the veray dygnyte of presthode,
and so be worthy to be honowryd indede. For thys ys
sure—that only for theyr vertue they schold be hon-
owryd, *and* therby from the commyn pepul, as hyt
were, exemptyd, wych yf they folow, the pepul schal

Priests should
be honoured for
their virtues.

gyue them gladly al worthy honowrys, *and* nurysch
them wyth theyr laburys *and* trauayle, in grete quyetnes
and tranquyllyte; *and* thys exemptyon indede ys to be
gyuen to the dygnyte of presthod, *and* not that they
may haue lyberty, wythout punnyschement, to offend al
lawys frely. For by thys mean, as me semyth, al the
dygnyte of presthode ys vtterly dekeyd; for-as-much

1361

They must not
be allowed to
transgress all
laws.

1367

as by the reson of such priuylege grauntyd of pryncys
to the dygnyte of them, euery lude felow, now-a-days,
and idul lubbur, that can other rede or syng, makyth
hymselfe prest, not for any loue of relygyon, but for by-
cause, vnder the pretense therof, they may abase them
selfe in al vayn lustys *and* vanyte, wythout punnysche-
ment or reprove of any degre: such ys theyr priuylege
and exemptyon. How say [you], Master Lvpset, ys
hyt not thys?

The evil con-
sequences of their
privileges.

1372

110. **Lvpset.**—Sir, I can not wel tel what I schal say,
your resonys are so probabyl; specyally consydering
that, among themselfys *and* in theyr spiritual courtys,
they haue no *punnyschement determyd by law con-

L. confesses that
the spiritual
courts have
failed

[* Page 203.]

in not punishing
crimes.

uenyent to such faultys *and* crymys of them commyttyd,
wych yf they had, yet me thynke hyt schold be more
conuenyent that theyr causys schold be intretyd before
theyr owne jugys. But now, seying they are ouer-fauer-
abyt therin, I *can* not but confesse thys priuylege to
1386 be pernyceyouse, speecially in such a multytud of ryb-
baudys as be now-a-days in the ordur of presthode.
Such pryuylege, at the fyrst begynnyng of the Church,
when prestys were *perfayt and* pure of lyfe, were veray
expedyent, *and*, breuely to say, no les then they be now
1391 dyseconuenyent.

What about
exemption of
abbeyes, &c.,
from bishops?
Exemption from
byshopppys.²

111. [Pole.]—*And* what thynk¹ you by exemptyon
of relygyouse housys *and* collegys from theyr byschoppys
to the See of Rome. Ys thys resonabyt?

112. *Lvpset*.—Syr, yf they byschoppys dyd no
1396 offyce therin accordyng to the ordur of the law, as they
dow not, wherin lyth a grete faute also, as hyt ys open
to euery mannys yes, that thyng were vndowtydly to be
reproyud; but as the world ys, I *can* not myslyke that
at al: for though they be not wel, yet they be in bettur
case then they other.

L. does not
"mislike" this.

1402 113. *Pole*.—Thys ys enough that you grant both to
be nought.

114. *Lvpset*.³—That *can* not be denyd.

The privilege of
sanctuary seems
a mischief to
Pole, as it may
encourage man
to crime.

115. *Pole*.—*And* what thynke you by priuylegys
grantyng to churchys *and* al say[n]tuarys? *Can* you iuge
them to be conuenyent? Thynke you that hyt ys wel,
a man when he hath commyttyd wylful murdur, or out-
ragyouse robbery, or of purpos deceyuyd hys credytors,
to run to they sayntuary wyth al hys godys, *and* ther
to lyue quyetyly, inyoing al quyetnes *and* plesure? Thys
thyng, me semyth, ys a playn occasyon of al myschefe
and mysery, *and* causyth much murdur in our cuntrey

1414 *and* natyon. For who wyl be aferd to kyl hys ennemy,

[* Page 204.] *yf he may be sauyn by the pryuylege of sayntuary?

¹ MS. thyng.

² In margin of MS.

³ MS. Le.

116. *Lvpset.*¹—Syr, to defend thys me thynke ther ys no reson. How be hyt, for the saueguard of mannys lyfe, I thynke hyt gud that such holly placys schold haue priuylege, at the lest that hys ennemy may not pluke hym out at hys lyberty, nor yet in such place to venge hys iniury. 1418

L. thinks it need not be defended.

117. *Pole.*—Wel, Master Lvpset, as touchyng that, we schal see in hys place. Hyt ys enough now that you se grete mysordur therin. 1423

118. *Lvpset.*—Yes, surely, that ys no dowte.

119. *Pole.*—Thys, Master Lvpset, you haue now hard such mysorduris as come to my remembraunce now at thys tyme, bothe concernyng our commyn lawys and custumys of our cuntrey ; by the reson w[h]erof our commyn wel stondyth not in the perfayt state, wych we haue before descrybyd. Wherfor, bycause hyt ys late we wyl now dyffer the rest of our communycatyon tyl to-morow, except you remembyr any other wych we haue not spoken of yet. 1434

P. proposes to adjourn.

120. *Lvpset.*—Syr, I thynke you haue notyd the most general *fautys concernyng both lawys and custume also. How be hyt, bycause we speke of custume, ther cummyth to my remembrance a nother yl custume, concernyng the thyng wych, by hys propur name, we cal custume, and, I trow, rysyth nother of law nor yet of resonabyl custume. The thyng ys thys, the grete custume payd by marchauntys for bryngyng in of commodityes to our reame. They pay ouer-much, by the reson wherof, they haue les wyl to trauayle for the commoditye of the rest of the commynys. Wherfor we lake many thyngys that we myght haue, or at the lest much bettur chepe then we haue commynly. 1443

[* Page 205.]

L. has one more ill custom :

Custume.²

it is the excessive dues on imports.

121. *Pole.*—Syr, thys ys truthe that you say ; but I trow thys was notyd at the lest in general, when we spake of the lake of thyngys to be brought in by our 1450

P. says it was noted before.

¹ MS. Lc.

² In margin of MS.

1451 *merchantys*. Notwythstondyng hyt was wel remem-
bryd. Wherfor, yf you haue any other of the same
sorte, *present* them to remembrance.

122. *Lrpset*.¹—Syr, I remembyr non other now at
thys tyme, *and* yf case be that any come to my memory,
1456 hyt schalbe no thyng amys to put them forth in our
[* Page 206.] *communycatyon*, that we schal haue² *to-morow,³ when
we schal speke of the restoryng of thes fautys rehersyd
before.

They adjourn.

123. *Pole*.—Nay, Mastur *Lrpset*,¹ bycause thys
mater ys grete, let vs dyffer hyt ij or iij days,³ that
we come somewhat the bettur instructe to such a grete
cause.

1464 124. *Lrpset*.¹—Syr, you say wel, *and* so let hyt be.

¹ MS. Le.

² The following words are written at the bottom of this
page of the MS.:—Abuse in *pryntyng* of al bokys wyth
pryuylege.

³ Compare “yesturday’s *communycatyon*” in line 17 on
next page.

[P A R T II.]

[CHAPTER I.]

1. [Pole.]—**Master Lvpset*,¹ to schow you in the
 begynnyng the dyffyculty of thys day's *communycatyon*,
 I am sure hyt nedyth nothyng at al, wych oft-tymys
 haue before had in your mouth thys saying (wych to- 4
 day we schal *perceyue* truth)—that much esyar hyt ys
 to spye a hundred fautys in a *commyn* wele, then to
 amende one; euen lyke as hyt ys in mannys body of
 corporal dyseasys, they wych of euery man may wel be
perceyuyd, but of euery man they can not be curyd. 9
 Wherfor, *Master Lvpset*, yf we haue put any dylygence
 before in serchyng out the nature of a true *commyn*
 wele, *and* they lakkys *and* fautys therof in ourys, we
 must now thys day put much more, for as much as the
 processe of our *communycatyon* hytherto ys but of lytyl
 or no value, except we fynd out conuenyent remedys
 prudently to be applyd to such sorys *and* dyseasys
 in our polytyke body before notyd in yesturday's *com-* 17
munycatyon. Therefore, *Master Lvpset*, me thynke we
 schal dow wel yf, in our fyrst begynnyng, we cal to
 Hym who, by Hys incomparabul gudnes *and* incompre-
 hensybyl wisdom, made, gouernyth, *and* rulyth al
 thlyngys, *that hyt may plesse Hym so, by Hys Holy
 Spryte, from whom to mankynd commyth al gudnes,
 vertue, *and* grace, to² yllumynate *and* lyght our hartys
and myndys (wych wythout hym can no truthe *perceyue*) 25

[* Page 1.]
 P. says their
 undertaking is
 difficult,

and will be useless
 if no remedy is
 proposed for the
 diseases of the
 country,

and he appeals to
 God to illuminate
 their hearts and
 minds.

[* Page 2.]

¹ MS. Lep.

² MS. so to.

26 that we may see the conuenient mean of restoryng to
our polytyke body hys perfayt state *and* commyn welth,
of vs before deserybyd ; wych, yf we desyre wyth pure
affecte *and* ardent mynd, I dowte no thyng but we schal
hyt optayne.

In which L.
heartily joins,

2. *Lvpset*.—Syr, you say ryght wel ; for yf the old
wrytarys *and* poetys, in descrybyng of storys *and*
33 other theyr fansys, callyng to the musys *and* to theyr
goddys, thought therby to optayne some spryte, succur,
and ayde, to the furderyng of theyr purpos, how much
more ought we of the Chrystyan floke in such a grete
cause, wych to our hole natyon may be so profytabul,
38 surely to trust of succur *and* ayd ; specyally consyderyng
the promes of God made to vs hys faythful *and* approuyd
pepul, wych in hys Gospel hath promysyd to vs, surely
to optayne what so euer we ax of hys Father in hys
name, that ys to say, what so euer vndowtydly schal
redounde to hys *veray glory *and* true honowre.

remembering the
promise of God.

[* Page 3.]

44 3. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*, that ys wel admonyschyd
of you. Wherfor, *Master Lvpset*, let vs now take thys
occasyon wych now ys present. Here in thys chapel
by *and* by schal be a mas sayd in the honowre of the
Holy Goste, the wych we may fyrst here, *and* wyth pure
49 hart *and* affecte cal for that lyght of the Holy Spryte,
wythout the wych mannys hart ys blynd *and* ignorant
of al vertue *and* truthe.

They hear a
Mass in honour
of the Holy
Ghost.

4. *Lvpset*.—*Master Pole*, so let hyt be ; *and* then,
aftur masse, we may retorne to thys place agayne, as I
54 trust, lyghtyd wyth some celestyal lyght to furnysch
our profytabul communycatyon thys day instytute.

Having heard
Mass,

5. *Pole*.—Now, *Master Lvpset*, syn we haue hard
mas, *and* aftur that, as I trust, we haue conceyuyd some
sparkyl of the celestyal lyght, let vs fyrst breuely de-
clare the ordur *and* processe of that wych we wyl talke
60 of thys day, that our communycatyon may not vt-

turly be spent in wanderyng wordys *and* waueryng 61
sentence.

6. **Lvpset.**—Syr, that ys wel sayd ; for, aftur myn
opynyon, al obscurete *and* darkenes, both in wrytyng
and in al communycatyon, spryngyth therof.

7. **Pole.**—Syr, in thys processe we wyl take nature
for our exampul, *and*, as nere as we can, folow hyr
steppys, wych, in the generatyon of the nature of man,
*fyrst formyth hys body, wyth al conuenient instru-
mentys to the setting forth of the natural bewty conue-
nyent to the same, *and* aftur puttyth in the prec[y]ouse
and dyuine nature of the soule—a sparkyl of the godly 72
and eternal reson. So, fyrst, we wyl—receyuyng of
nature the mater therof—forme *and* adorne thys po-
lytyke body wyth al thyngys conuenient *and* expedyent
to the same ; *and* then, secondaryly, intrete *and* touch
al such thyngys as perteynyth to the polytyke gouern- 77
ance of the same body ;—thys general rule of experte
physycyonys, in curyng of bodyly dyseasys, as much as
we can, euer obseruyng,—that ys to say, fyrst to inserch
out the cause of the dyseasys, wythout the wych the
applying of remedys lytyl awaylyth. 82

P. proceeds to
describe the
course to be
taken, and sug-
gests that

[* Page 4.]

the order of
nature should be
followed,

8. **Lvpset.**—Syr, thys ordur lykyth me wel, wych
agreth much wyth our processe before taken ; for euen
lyke as we haue, obseruyng thys ordur, found out the
mysordurys in our commynalty, so hyt ys veray con-
uenient by the same ordur to reson of the remedys 87
expedyent for the same.

which suits L.
well.

9. **Pole.**—Wel, Master Lupset, then, let vs procede.
Fyrst, yf you remembyr, aftur that we had declaryd
what hyt ys that we cal the true commyn wele, *and*
aftur began to serch out such commyn fautys *and* lakkys
as we coud fynd in our cuntrey concernyng the same, 93
we agreed that we haue, consyderyng the place *and* fer-
tylyte therof, grete lake of pepul, the multytude wher-

P. recapitulates
a part of what
has been said,

Consumptyon,¹

¹ In margin of MS.

- 96 of ys, as hyt were, the ground *and* fundatyon of thys
 [* Page 5.] our commyn *wele; the wych lake we callyd, as hyt
 were, a consumptyon of the polytyke body, of the wych
 now, fyrst, ys requyryd to enserch out the cause: the
 wych, *Master Lvpset*, schal not be hard for to dow. For
 and then de- thys ys a necessary truth :—in as much as *man* growyth
 scribes the lack not out of rokkys nor of tres, as fabullys dow fayne, but
 of people, and the remedy :—spryngyth by natural generatyon, thys lake must nedys
 natural genera- come as of a pryncypal cause, that *man* doth not apply
 tion, theyr study to natural procreatyon. For though hyt be
 so that many other exteryor causys may be therof, as
 107 batyl *and* pestylens, hungur *and* darth, wych haue in to
 many cuntreys brought penury of pepul, as we may by
 experyence see in many cuntres desolate therby; yet
 now, to our purpos, the pryncypal cause of our lake of
 pepul can not be attrIBUTE therto. *And* yet yf percase
 112 hyt were so in dede, the way *and* mean to suffice, mul-
 typly, *and* encrease them agayn to a conuenient nombur,
 ys only natural generatyon. Thys may not be in any
 case denyd. How say you, *Master Lvpset*, ys hyt
 not so?

which L. says is
 the only way to
 increase man and
 all creatures.

10. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, thys ys no dowte; thys ys the
 only way to increse, not only *man* by the course of na-
 ture, but al other lyuyng creaturys here apou erth wych
 are not gendryd by putrefactyon.

How man is to
 be allured to
 this natural
 procreation,

11. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, then we must now
 deuyse the mean for the remouyng of such impedymētys
and lettys as be to thys cause, *and* so to allure *man* to thys
 124 natural procreatyon, aftur a cyuyle ordur *and* polytyke
 facyon. For though nature hath gyuen to *man*, as to al
 other bestys, natural inelynatyon to hys increse; yet, by-
 cause *man* ys only borne to cunylyte *and* polytyke rule,
 therefore he may not, wythout ordur or respecte, study to
 the satysfactyon of thys natural affecte. *And* for thys
 cause hyt hath byn ordeynyd, I trow, from the fyrst gener-
 atyon of *man*, that he schold coupul hymselfe in laful

and how he is to
 be enticed to
 matrimony.

matrymony, *and* so therby multiply *and* increse. So that 132

thys remenyth, *Master Lvpset*, in thys mater, now spee-
ally to vs, hauyng the lyght of Chrystys Gospel, to de-
uyse *some waye to intyse man to thys lauful maryage
and couplyng togydur. Wherfor, *Master Lvpset*,¹ thys

[* Page 6.]

you schal vnderstand *and* take as a ground for the rest
of al our communcyacyon of thys day folowyng :—that 138

yf man wold folow euer ryght reson *and* the iugement
therof, remembryng alway the excellence *and* dygnyte
of hys nature, hyt schold be no thyng hard to bryng
man, wythout many lawys, to true cyuylyte ; hyt schold
be nothyng hard to remedy al such fautys as we haue
befor found in our commynalty. But, *Master Lvpset*, 144

If man would but
follow reason,
faults could be
remedied ;

Plato igitur in su
'*Republica*' nul-
las telit leges.²

thys hathe byn tryde by processe of thousandys of yerys,
thys hath byn *concludyd* by the most wyse *and* polytyke

men :—that man, by instructyon *and* gentyl exhortacyon,
can not be brought to hys perfectyon. Wherfor hyt

but he cannot be
brought to per-
fection by
instruction ;

was necessary to descend to the *constytutyon and* or-
dynance of lawys cyuyly *and* polytyke, that where as 150

man, blyndyd by affectys *and* vanytes therof, wold not
folow the trade of ryght reson, he schold, at the lest by

feare of punnyschment, be *constraynyd* to occupy hym-
selfe *and* apply hys mynd to such thyngys as were con-
uenyent to hys excellent nature *and* dygnyte ; *and* so

only the fear of
punishment can
compel him to
do right,

at the last, by long custume, be inducyd to folow *and* 156

dow that thyng for the loue of vertue wych befor he
dyd only for fere of the punnyschment *prescrybyd* by

the law. Thys ys the end *and* vertue of al law, thys
ys the faute that *commyth* therof, that man, custumyd

which is the end
of all law.

other for feare of payne or desyre of reward, myght 161

folow the *prescryptyon and* ordynance therof ; *and* so,
fynally, only for loue folow vertue *and* fly from vyce,

as that thyng wych, yf ther were no payne *prescrybyd*
by law, yet he wold abhorre as a thyng contrary to the

nature of man *and* to hys dygnyte. Thys thyng, 166

¹ MS. le.

² In margin of MS,

167 *Master Lvpset*, wych breuely I haue touchyd, yf al men
 coud perceyue, as I sayd before, hyt schold be lytyl nede
 of many lawys ; but for bycause the multytude of men be
 so corrupt, frayle, *and* blyndyd wyth pestylent affectys,
 we must *consy*dur the imbecyllte of them *and* wekenes
 of mynd, *and* apply our remedye accordyng therto,
 [* Page 7.] *folowyng the exampl of experte physycyonys, wych

174 are *constraynyd* to worke in theyr seyence accordyng to
 the nature of theyr patyentys. Thys we must now
 dow, *and* here aftur also, in the rest of our communy-
 catyon ; euer studying some meane to allure the grosse
and rude pepul to the folowyng of that wych we schal
 and try to dis-
 cover some
 means to allure
 him to do as he
 ought ;

179 juge necessary to be downe for the *conseruatyon* of gud
 cyuylte. As now, to retorne to our purpos agayne, seyng
 that is, to marry. that matrymony ys the only or chefe mean polytyke to
 increse thys multytude to a just nombur agayne, we
 must both by *priuylege* *and* payne induce men therto,
and study to take away al obstaculys *and* lettys wych
 185 we fynd therto ; in the wych thyng, *Master Lvpset*, let
 me here some what of your mynd.

12. *Lvpset*.—Syr, bycause you wyl so, thys I schal
 say, as touchyng the obstaculys *and* lettys wherof you
 speke. You put me in remembrance of a thyng wych
 190 to you I dare speke ; for I wot not whether I may speke
 thys a-brode, but in that I submytt myselfe to your
 jugement. The thyng ys thys :—I haue thought long
and many a day a grete let to the increse of Chrystun
 pepul, the law of chastyte ordeynyd by the Church,
 whych byndyth so gret a multytude of men to lyue ther-
 L. refers to the
 law of chastity
 in the Church
 as a chief
 hindrance to the
 increase of
 population,

196 aftur ; as al secular prestys, monkys, frerys, channony,
and nunnys, of the wych, as you know, ther ys no smal
 nombur, by the reson wherof the generatyon of man ys
 maruelously let *and* mynyschyd. Wherfor, except the
 ordynance of the Church were (to the wych I wold
 201 neuer gladly rebel) I wold playnly juge that hyt schold

be veray conuenyent somethyng to relese the band of 202
 thys law ; specyally consyderyng the dyffyculty of that
 grete vertue, in a maner aboue nature, for the wych, as
 I thynke, our mastur Chryst dyd not bynd vs therto by
 hys precept *and* commandement, but left hyt to our ar-
 bytryment whether we wold study to stryue agayne 207
 nature, whose instyncte only by speyal grace we may
 ouercome. Wherefore hyt apperythe to me, to releyse
 thys law veray necessary.

and would have it
 repealed.

13. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, thys wych you say
 ys not al wythout reson. Wherefor notwythstondyng
 ther be grete argumentys of the contrary parte, yet by-
 cause we wyl not as many physycyonys dow, wych,
 wyle they dyspute of the dysease, let theyr patyentys 215
 dye ; *so now in thys place, when we seke remedy,
 consume the tyme in argumentatyon, but breuely
 therin sehow you myn opynyon, wych much agreth
 vnto you. For thys I thynke, *Master Lvpset*, to be a
 playn truth :—that euen lyke as thys ordur of chastyte,
 at the begynnyng of the Church *and* setting forth of 221
 Chrystys relygyon, was for that tyme veray expedyent
and necessary, so, for thys tyme, al cyrcumstance con-
 syderyd, hyt ys no lesse conuenyent the rygoure of the
 same somewhat to relese ; for thys ys the nature of al
 mannys ordynance *and* cyuyle law, that, accordyng to
 the tyme, person, *and* place, they be varyabul, *and* euer
 requyre prudente correctyon *and* due reformatyon. 228
 Wherefor in thys mater I thynke hyt were necessary to
 tempur thys law, *and*, at the lest, to gyue *and* admyt al
 secular prestys to mary at theyr lyberty, consydryng
 now the grete multytude *and* nowmbur of them. But
 as touchyng monkys, chanonnys, frerys, *and* nunnys, I 233
 hold for a thyng veray conuenyent *and* mete, in al wel-
 ordeynynd commyn welys, to haue certayn monasterys
and abbeys ; to the wych al such as, aftur laful proue

P. thinks this
 law was expedient
 in the beginning,
 but that it is
 not now,

[* Page 8.]

and, as laws may
 be changed,

he would allow
 secular priests to
 marry.

He would have
 abbeyes

for such as are
inclined to
chastity.

of chastyte before had, may retyre, *and* from the besynes
and vanyte of the world may wythdraw¹ themselfe, holly
gyuyng theyr myndys to prayar, study, *and* hye con-
templatyon. Thys occasyon I wold not haue to be
taken away from Chrystyan pollycy, wych ys a grete
242 comfort to many febul *and* very soulys, wych haue byn
oppressyd wyth wordly vanyte. But as touchyng the
secular prestys, I vttruly agre wyth you, *and* so that
obstacul to take away, wych lettyth by many ways the
increse of our pepul, as many other thyngys dow more
247 also ; among the wych a nother chefe, aftur my mynd,

Serving-men do
not marry.

The remedy :—
do not allow the
nobility to keep
more than they
can set forward
in matrimony.

ys thys :—the grete multytude of *seruyng* men, wych
in *seruyce* spend theyr lyfe, neuer fyndyng mean to
marry conuenyently, but lyue alway as *commyn* cor-
ruptarys of chastyte. Wherfor ther wold be, as I
thynke, an ordynance that no gentylmen, nor other of
the nobylite, take to hys *seruyce* grettur nombur of
men then he ys abul to promote *and* set forward to
some honest facyon of lyuyng *and* lawful matrimony ;
257 *and* so by thys mean the multytude of them *schold be

[* Page 9.]

mynyschyd gretely. And for bycause that many ther
be now wych can not fynd gud occasyon of maryage,
bycause of pouerty *and* lake of arte *and* craft to lyue, I
wold thynke conuenyent, for as much as we haue many
wyld[ys] *and* wastys in our cuntrey, that the prynce *and*
other nobul men schold byld them housys in placys

Give those who
marry, a house
and a portion of
the waste lands,

263 comenyent ; appoyntyng therto certayn portyon of theyr
wast groundys, forestys, *and* parkys, wherof they take
lytyl or no profyt at al, *and* gyue such tenementys to
theyr *seruantys*, theyr heyrys, *and* assygnys, paying
yerly a lytyl portyon as a chefe rent *and* recognysance
of theyr lord. By the wych mean, as I thynke, they
grete nombur of them wold be glad to set themselfe to
matrimony ; *and* so we schold not only haue the pepul

demanding only
a nominal rent.

271 increasyd in nombur, but also the waste groundys wel

¹ MS. wythdray.

occupyd *and* tylyd, wych ys in our cuntrey, as we haue 272
sayd before, a grete rudenesse *and* faute. Thys thyng
schold much intyse men to maryage, speccially yf we
gaue vnto them also certayn pryuylegys *and* prerogatyf, Privileges to
aftur the maner of the old *and* wyse Romanys ; as to al those who have
such as by matrymony incresyd the pepul wyth v. chyl- five children.
dur, that they schold pay nother taske nor talage, ex- 278
cept he were worth a hundred markys in guddys ; nor
he schold not be *constraynyd* to go forth to warre, ex- Don't compel
cept he wold of hys owne voluntary wyl, wyth such them to go to
other lyke immunitytes *and* pryuylegys, as may easely be the wars.
founde. *And* not only aftur thys maner allure them 283
to the procreatyon of chyl-
dur, but also certayn paynys
prescrybyng to them wych from matrymony for theyr
plesur wold abstayne. As, fyrste, they schold euer lake
al such honowre *and* exy[s]tymatyon as ys gyuen to
maryed men, *and* neuer to bere offyce in theyr cyte or 288
towne where they abyde ; and, besyde thys, me semyth
hyt were a conuenyent payne, that euery bachelor, ac-
cordyng to the portyon of godys *and* landys, schold
yerely pay a certayn summe, as hyt were of euery
pownde xij *d.*, wych yerely cumyth in, other by fe,
wagys, or land ; *and* euery man that ys worth in 294
mouabul godys aboue iiiij *li.*, of euery pound, iij *d.* ; the
wych some schold euer be reseruyd in a commyn place
to be dystributyd partely to them wych haue more
chyl-
dur then *they be wel abul to nurysh, *and* parte-
ly to the dote of pore damosellys *and* vyrgynys. *And*
yf case be that they wych thys abstayne vturly from
maryage dye in that maner, they schold be *constraynyd*,
by ordur of law, to leue the one halfe of al theyr gudys
to be dystributyd aftur the maner before prescrybyd ;
and prestys the hole : euer prouysyon made that no-
thyng schold be alyenat to the fraud of the law. *And*
so, aftur thys mean, I thynke in few yerys the pepul
schold increse to a notabul noumbur. Thys I juge 307 .

Bachelors to be
taxed one
shilling in the
pound,

and the money
to be given to
[* Page 10.]
those who have
many children,
and to virgins.

When they die,
distribute half
their goods, and
the whole of a
priest's.

308 among other to be a syngular remedy for the sklendurnes
of our polytyke body. How say you, *Master Lupset*,
ys hyt not so ?

14. *Lvpset*.—Yes, truly ; I thynke hyt were alone
sufficyent.

313 15. *Pole*.—Then, *Master Lupset*, now, consequently,
we must seke remedy to the second dysease that we
spake of before, wych we resemblyd to a dropecy ; for
though thys body be weke, sklendur, and lakkyth
natural strength, yet hyt ys bollen and swollen out

Idleness is the
second disease.

318 wyth yl humorys, the wych we callyd before, by a
symylytude, al idul personys. Thys dysease, yf we
wyl cure, we must, as you know, remoue the cause, or
els hyt wyl euer multiply and increse agayn. And,
schortly to say, the cause pryncypal therof, aftur my
mynd, ys the yl and idul bryngyng vp of youth here
in our cuntrey, wych are mouyd therto wyth the hope

Its cause must
be removed.

Bad training of
the young.

325 of plesant lyuyng in seruyce wyth the nobylyte,
spiritual and temporal ; for man naturally euer desyryth
plesure and quyetnes. Wherfor an ordynance wold be
made, that euery man, vnder a certayn payn, aftur he
hathe brought hys chylður to vij yere of age, schold set
them forth other to letturys or to a craft, accordyng as
theyr nature requyryth, aftur the jugement and powar
of theyr frendys ; of the wych mater also the curate of
euery parysch schold chiefely haue cure, as to one of the

Children to be
put to letters or
a craft.

Duties of the
curate.

334 pryncypal thyngys perteynyng vnto hys offyce and
duty. And, as I sayd before, also thys hope in lyuyng
in seruyce wyth the nobylyte must be cut away by the
law befor rehersyd, that no man schold nurysch gretter
nombur then he ys abul to nurysch wel, and fynd to
339 them some honest lyuyngys. That law schal helpe
much to thys our purpos now, and be the occasyon of
mayntenyng of artys and craftys : wherin, also, I wold
thynke hyt expedyent,² that who so euer were in

Dropecy.¹

¹ In margin of MS.

² MS. expedyent, also.

any seyence or craft, nobul *and* excellent, he schold by the lyberalyte of the prynce be rewardyd therfor, accordyng to the excellency *and* dygnyte of hys craft; the wych *thyng vndowtydly wold incorage basse stomakys to endeuur themselfys dylygently to attayne in al artys *and* crafte gret syngularyte. And thys were also veray conuenient, that yf any man had no craft at al, but delytyng in idulnes, as a drowne be doth in a hyue, suckyth vp the hunny, that he schold be bannyschyd *and* dryuen out of the cyte, as a person vnprofytabel to al gud cyuylyte. Thys dyd the Athenyens, wych wold suffur no man to abyde in theyr cyte except he professyd some honest craft, or could make a lawful rekenyng how he lyuyd in theyr comynalty, *and* of thys thyng also the offycerys in euery cyte chefely schold take regard; *and* in the cuntrey the curate of the towne, wythe the gentylman chefe lord of the same, wych in hys courtys schold examyne thys mater wyth grete dylygence *and* care, as a thyng wych ys the ground of al the hole commyn wele. For lytyl awaylyth hyt to increse the nombur of pepul, except prouysyon be made to take away thys idulnes *and* grete dropey. How say you, Master Lvpset, thynke you not thys?

Premium to craftsmen according to the excellency of their crafts.

[* Page 11.]

Idle persons to be banished, as was the custom in Athens.

It is useless to increase numbers if idleness is allowed.

16. **Lvpset.**—Herin, Syr, you say ryght wel. How be hyt, thys ys a veray schort remedy; you must schow somewhat more at large how the youth schold be brought vp in artys *and* craftys more partycularly.

L. asks how are the youth to be brought up?

17. **Pole.**—Nay, Sir; not so. That ys not my purpos here now to dow; for hyt were nede then of euery cure almost for to wryte a hole boke. I wyl only touch, as I sayd before, the most general poyntys, *and* the rest leue to the cure of them wych in euery cause haue ordur *and* rule; whose prudence *and* pollycy schal euer see, accordyng to the tyme *and* place of euery thyng perteynyng to theyr offyce, the partycular

P. says that is not his purpose here.

- 379 remede. But of thys we may be assuryd, that yf thes
 general thyngys before spoken were put in vse *and*
 effecte, they schold much remedy thys foule yl *and*
 grete dropcy. Let vs, therfor, procede to the other
 next in ordur to thys ensuyng, wych, I trow, we callyd
 a palsy; for as much as many ther be wych occupy
 themselfe besyly, but to no profyt of the commynalty;
 of the wych a grete *nombur we rekenyd then, as al
 387 such wych occupyd themselfys about vayn plesury *and*
 nothyng necessary, as marchauntys therof *and* craftys
 men, syngarys *and* playarys apon instrumentys, lyuyng
 therby; ye, *and* also a grete nombur of thes wych we
 cal relygyouse men, *and* be not indede. The remedy
 392 wherof in general hangyth much of the remedy of the
 dysease before last rehersyd, for as much as the cause of
 the yl occupying of al such before notyd ys to satysfye
 the appetyte of the idul route. Wherefore yf they were
 wel brought vp wythout idulnes, the rote of thys
 dysease schold be cut away wythal. So they hange
 398 togydur. For who doth not see thys, that al thes
 merchantys *and* artyfycerys of vanyte schold vtterly
 perysch wyth theyr craftys, yf they were not mayn-
 teynyed by thys idul sorte, wych be they hauntarys of
 thes vayn plesury *and* tryfelyng thyngys? Wherefor
 403 yf men were so brought vp in youthe, so instructyd
and formyd in tendur age, that they schold not delyte
 but in honest plesury necessary *and* natural, thys
 mater wold sone be remedyd. Therfor, as I sayd before,
 the hedys, offycerys, *and* rularys, euer to thys must
 haue theyr yes, to thys they must study; for thys gud
 educatyon of youth in vertuse exercyse ys the grounde
 of the remedyng al other dyseasys in thys our polytyke
 body, euen lyke as in the cure of the bodyly dyseasys,
 412 the correctyon of corrupt *and* indygest humorys ys the
 chiefe poynt in the cure of them al, as the thyng wyth-

He speaks now
 of such as are
 busy

Palsy.¹

[* Page 12.]

In providing
 amusements.

To remedy this,
 children must
 be brought up
 without idleness.

A good training
 of youth is the
 only cure.

¹ In margin of MS.

out the wych al other medycyns lytyl schal awayle. 414

Wherfor thys ys, as hyt were, the chefe key wherby the rest of our song must be gouernyd *and* rulyd, *and* so in thys al dylygence ys requyryd. How be hyt, forbycause that man ys so frayle *and* gyuen to plesure, besyde thys educatyon, hyt schalbe necessary to haue 419

some other lawys for the correctyon of thys faute then be yet stablyschyd. As, for exampul, thys, I thynk, schold be no thyng amys, fyrst, a ordynance to be had, that merchantys *out of straunge cuntreys be cummandyd vnder a certayn payn, not to bryng in any such thyng as schal allure our pepul to vayn plesure 425

and pastyme; among the wych thys grete abundance of wyne brough[t] in ys no smal occasyon of much hurte, by many ways, as hyt ys more euydent then nedyth to be schowyd. Wherfor among the marchauntys an ordynance schold be had to bryng in only a certayn 430

[quantytye] for the plesure of nobul men *and* them wych be of powar; *and* so in thys poynt, shortly to say, thys schold also be comprehendyd, that marchauntys schold cary out only such thyngs as we haue grete 436

abundance of, *and* bryng in agayne thyngys necessary only, or, at the lest, such thyngys as schalbe for the mayntenance of honest plesure, *and* suche as can not be made by the arte, labur, *and* dylygence of our owne pepul. Thys schold mynystur a grete occasyon to occupy bettur our idul route that we spake of before. 436

And ferther, for the takyng away of thes yl-occupyd personys in vayn craftys, the same offycerys in euery towne wych schal see [th]at ther be no idul personys wythout crafte or mean to get theyr lyuyng, schal also 444

take hede that they occupye no vayn *and* vnprofytabul craft to the commyn wele. Thes offycerys schalbe as the Censorys were in the old tyme at Rome, wyche schal see to thes materys, as wel as to the nombur *and* to the substance of pepul. To them hyt schal perteyne also, 449

New laws are required to regulate the importing of such things as wine,
[* Page 13.]

and exporting such things as we have in abundance.

Officers to be appointed to see how people are employed.

Duties of these officers.

450 to ouerse the educatyon of vthe. To theyr cure schal
 be commytted the redresse of many grete dyseasys in
 thys polytyke body. But of thys heraftur in hys place,
 when we come to speke of the polytyke ordur. And
 by thys mean I thynke we schold helpe much to the
 455 gud occupying of our pepul in honest *and* profytabul
 craftys to the commyn wele.

L. agrees, but
 says religious
 persons are
 untouched.

18. *Lvpset*.—Syr, of thys ther ys no dowte but that
 thes ordynance schold be veray profytabul. But yet you
 haue left the one halfe of the yl-occupyd personys, *and*
 460 nothyng touchyd them at al. That ys to say, thes
 relygyouse personys in monasterys *and* abbeys.

P. owns there
 are plenty of
 [* Page 14.]
 these men ;
 he does not wish
 the abbeys to be
 destroyed,
 but he would
 reform them.

19. *Pole*.—Surely you say troth. Of them ther ys
 a grete nombur *and* vnprofytabul ; but, **Mastur Lvp-*
set, as touchyng them, as I sayd before, I wold not that
 thes relygyouse men wyth theyr monasterys schold vt-
 turly be take away, but only some gud reformatyon to
 be had of them. *And*, schortly to say, I wold thynke

468 in that behalfe chefely, thys to be a gud remedy, that
 youth schold haue no place therin at al, but only such
 men as, by feruent loue of relygyon mouyd therto, fly-
 ing the daungerys *and* snarys of the world, schold ther
 haue place. *And* yf that gape were onys stoppyd, I dare

Who should be
 admitted to them.

473 wel say theyr nombur wold not be ouer-grete : we schold
 haue fewar in nombur relygyouse men, but bettur in
 lyfe. But here ys not the place of them, nor to schow
 theyr reformatyon, the wych schalbe hereaftur when we
 schal speke of the reformyng of the fautys of the spíryt-

478 ualty. I can not tel how you brought them in *and*
 nombryd them among idul *and* yl-occupyd personys.
 How be hyt, to say the truthe, they are nother ydul, as
 they say, nother yet wel occupyd ; but, how so euer
 hyt be, theyr *propur* place ys not here in thys purpos ;
and therfor we wyl dyffer thys mater, *and* so go forth
 to the next dysease *and* cure therof ensuyng to thys

He defers this
 matter for the
 present,

485 now spoken of last : *and* that was, as I remembyr,

wych we then callyd a pestylens reynnyng in thys poly- Pestylens.¹
 tyke body, by the reson wherof they partys were not
 wel knyt togydur, but dysseueryd asunder, no parte
 dowyng hys *propur* offyce *and* duty. Thys ys, *and* euer 489
 hath byn, the gretyst destructyon that euer cam to any
 commyn wele. Thys ys the ground of al ruyne of and goes on to
 another disease
 of the body
 politic.
 pollycy, wherof the cuntre of Ytaly ys in our days most
 manyfest exampul, where as by dyscord *and* diuysyon
 among themselfe ys brought in much mysery *and* con-
 fusyon. Wherfor of thys thyng aboue al other most 495
 cure must be had ; but, *Master Lypset*, here you must
 vnderstond, that euen as in the body of man many dys-
 easys, as physycyonys dow say, spryng of the mynd, *and*
 of the affectys therof, so, in thys polytyke body, a grete
 parte of the mysordurys therin rysyth of that thyng 500
 wych we resemblyd to the mynd in man,—that ys, po-
 lytyke rule *and* cyuyle ordur ; among the mysordurys
 wherof thys pestylens ys one of the chefe. Wherfor
 thys ys certayn, here ys not the place of hys *per fayt*
 cure ; but rather, to say the troth, the cure therof ys
 sparkylyd in the cure of al other. How be hyt, some 506
 peculyar* thyngys *per teyne* therto, as we schal *partely*
 schow now *and* *partely* hereaftur. [* Page 15.]

(19.) And, fyrst, for thys place, seyng the cause of It arises from a
 lack of justice
 and equity.
 thys dysease rysyth chefely for lake of commyn justyce
and equity,—that one parte hathe to much *and* another
 to lytyl of al such thyng as equally schold be dystry- 512
 butyd accordyng to the dygnyte of al the cytyzyns,—
 therfor, aboue al thyng, regard must be had of the prynce
and of them wych be in offyce *and* authoryte, chefely
 to see that al such thyng may be dystrybute *with a cer-*
tayn equalyte ; but how thys schalbe downe hereaftur 517
 we schal *perauenture* somewhat schow. But now, to
 kepe thys body knyte togydur in vnyte, prouysyon wold
 be made by commyn law *and* authoryte, that euery parte To remedy this,
 every man is to
 mind his own

¹ In margin of MS.

craft, and not
intermeddle with
another's.

- may exerceys hys offyce *and* duty,—that ys to say,
euery man in hys craft *and* faculty to meddyl wyth such
thyng as perteynyth therto, *and* intermeddyl not wyth
524 other; for thys causyth much malyce, enuy, *and* debate,
both in cyte *and* towne, that one man meddylth in the
craft *and* mystere of other. One ys not content wyth
hys owne professyon, craft, *and* maner of lyuyng, but
euer, when he seyth another more rych then he, *and*
529 lyue at more plesure, then he despysyth hys owne
faculty, *and* so applyth hymselfe vnto the other. Wher-
for, a certayn payne must be ordryd *and* appoyntyd apon
euery man that contentyth not hymselfe wyth hys owne
mystere, craft, *and* faculty; wherby much schold be re-
534 streynyd thys curyosyte, a gret ruine *and* destructyon
to al gud *and* iust pollycy. Moreouer, to al sedycouse
personys that openly despyse thys ordur, vnyte, *and*
concord, wherby the partys of thys body are, as hyt
were, wyth senewys *and* neruys knyt togyddur, per-
539 petual bannyschment, or rather deth, must be by law
prescryhyd, as to a corrupt membyr of the body, *and* so
to be cut of, for feare lest hyt schold infecte the rest,
corruptyng the hole. *And* so thys compellyng of euery
man to dow hys offyce *and* duty, wyth dystributyng to
544 euery man, accordyng to hys vertue *and* dygnyte, such
thyngys as be to be dyuydyd among the cytyzynes wyth
equyte, schal conserue much thys body in vnyte *and*
concord; *and*, I thynke, by processe of tyme, vtturly take
away thys pestylent dysease *and* dyuysyon. How be
hyt, as I sayd before, the perfayt cure therof rysyth *and*
spryngyth of the cure of al other partycular misordurys
in pollycy, for as *much as thys ys, as hyt were, a ge-
neral ruine of al cyuyle ordur *and* polytyke rule. Ther-
for, *Master Lvpset*, let vs go forward aftur thys maner,
breuely to touche the cure of other, by the reson wher-
555 of we more perfaytly schal also cure thys same pestylens

Offenders to be
punished with
banishment or
death.

The perfect cure
depends on the
cure of other
disorders,
[* Page 16.]

to which P. will
go forward.

so corruptyng *the* body. Consequently to thys, yf you 556
 remembyr, *Mastur Lupset*, we found in thys body a grete
 deformyte, the wych, as we notyd, rysyth of the yl pro- Deformyte.¹
 portyon of the *partys*, some bying to grete *and* some to
 lytyl. As, by *exampul*, the thyng to declare, ther be
 among vs to few plowmen *and* tyllarys of the ground, The scarcity of
and to many courtiarys *and* idul seruantys; to few ar- husbandmen
 tysanys of gud occupatyon *and* to many prestys *and* and the plenty of
 relygyouse, ful of vayn superstycyon; *and* thys of many courtiers and
 other ordurys we myght say. But the cause of thys, to servants;
 touch now to the purpos, aftur my mynd, ys thys, that few artisans,
 euery man naturally ys gyuen to folow plesure, quiet- but many priests.
 nes, *and* ease, by the reson wherof the most parte fly The cause of this
 to the most esy craft, *and* to such wherof ys most hope deformity.
 speecyally of gayne, by the wych they may euer theyr plesure 567
 sustayn. Wherfor, to correcte thys faute, breuely to
 say, thys must be, as hyt apperyth to me, a chefe meane Its cure can only
 in euery craft, arte, *and* seyence, some to appoynt, ex- be effected by
 pert in the same, to admyt youth to the exereyse therof; choosing fit men
 not suffryng euery man wythout respecte to apply them- for certain
 selfe to euery craft *and* faculty. Thys remedy ys in offices,
 few wordys spoken; but, truly, yf hyt were put in vse, 575
 hyt schold not only bryng in the beuty of thys polytyke
 body, but also almost perfayt felycyte. Thes offycerys
 wych schold be appoyntyd to thys (of whome I wyl 580
 speke more heraftur) schold admyt non, als nere as they
 can, to any faculty but such wyttys as be apte therto;
 as, by *exampul*, to be prestys, clerkys, *and* lernyd in
 the law, such only schold be admyttyd as haue electe
 wyttys, *and* be of nature mete therunto. *And* so lyke 585
 of other. *And* then you schold see how by dylygent
 ouersyght, also, that euery man schold apply hym selfe
 to hys mystere *and* craft, or els by the offycerys to be
 excludyd *and* appoyntyd to other; and so schortly
 then every man
 would apply
 himself to his
 own business.

¹ In margin of MS.

590 schold grow a maruelouse beuty in thys polytyk body,
and thys deformyte *and* yl proportyon of partys schold
 be by thys maner wel taken away.

L. thinks this
 would be very
 profitable,

as the right man
 would always be
 in the right
 place.

[* Page 17.]

20. **Lvpset.**—Syr, thys were a profytabul ordynance,
 as hyt semyth to me; for by thys mean, also, we schold
 haue in euery arte, seyence, *and* craft, more excellent
men then we haue now, when no man schold apply
 themselfe to the same, but such only as be jugyd by na-
 ture apte thervnto: for in that thyng *only *men* profyt
 commynly, wherto of nature they be inclynyd frely.

600 Thys thyng, I trow, yet was neuer put in executyon in
 no commyn wele vnyuersally; but, truly, me thynke
 hyt schold be cause of manyfold profyte, more then I
 can now expresse.

P. goes on to
 discuss the
 Wekenes.¹
 weakness of the
 body,

21. **Pole.**—Wel, Mastur Lvpset, let the effecte proue
 605 as hyt schal plese Hym who gouernyth al; *and* let vs
 procede ferther in our processe. We notyd also a grete
 weknes in thys body, in so much that we though[t]
 hyt was not wel abul to defend hytselfe from vtward
 ennymys; the cause wherof, of the wych we must begyn,
 chefely ys thys, as hyt semyth to me:—that the noblyte,
 611 wyth theyr *seruantys and* adherentys, are not exercysyd
 in feat of armys *and* chyualry, but gyue themselfys to
 idul gamys, as dysyng *and* cardyng, wyth such other
 vanyte; to the wych ensuth, by necessity, thys gret
 wekenes of the chefe parte of the body. Wherfor ther

which is caused
 by the idleness
 of the nobility.

To cure this,
 they must exer-
 cise themselves in
 feats of arms,

616 must be a *prohybytyon* set out by commyn authoryte,
 fyrst, from al such vnprofytabul gamys *and* idul exer-
 cyse to be occupyd commynly, *and* the noblyte must
 be constraynyd, by lawful punnyschement, to exerceyse
 themselfys in al such thyngys *and* featys of armys as
 schal be for the defence of our reame necessary; the
 622 wych they schold dow wyth the same dylygence that
 the plowmen labur *and* tyl the ground for the commyn
 fode. And in thys mater hyt were veray necessary also,

¹ In margin of MS.

in euery cyte *and* gud towne, to haue a commyn place 625
 appoyntyd to the exerceyse of vthe, wherin they myght
 at voyd tymys exerceyse themselfys; the wych among
 the Romanys was a commyn thyng, *and* yet ys obseruyd
 among the Swycys; wych, I thynke, hathe byn the
 gretyst cause of theyr grete fame in dedys of armys. Ye

as the Romans
 did,
 and the Swiss
 now do.

and moreouer, in the vyllagys of the cuntrey, when the 631
 pepul are assemblyd togyddur, such exerceyse also wold
 not be forgot; but how, in what mean, *and* in what
 exerceyse, men schold thys occupye themselfys, that we
 schal leue to be prescrybyd of them wych be experte in
 featys of armys, *and* haue byn in vthe exercysyd therin. 636

To vs hyt ys suffyceynt in general somewhat to open *and*
 schow the way; for of thys thyng many yerys ther hath
 byn no regard at al here in our cuntre. Wherfor our pe-
 pul be not now valyant in featys of armys as they haue
 byn in tyme past, but, gyuen *to plesure, lettyth the
 world passe in idulnes *and* vanyte. But thys ys sure

The people now
 are not valiant,
 but are too much
 given to pleasure.
 [* Page 18.]

and certayn, ther ys no lesse cure to be had of thys 643
 mater then of cyuyle law *and* ordur in tyme of peace,
 for as much as wythout warre we neuer contynue many
 yerys, *and* so schalbe in daunger of losyng of our cun-
 trey wythout thys prouysyon. Therfor, aboue al, we
 must study to restore thys polytyke body to hys old
 powar *and* strength, *and* by such exerceyse remoue thys
 imbecyllite *and* wekenes from the same; the wych yf we
 dow, we schal haue our body of our pepul helthy *and* 651
 strong, abul to defend hytselfe from al vtward iniury.

The body must
 be restored to its
 old power.

(21.) *And* so now you haue hard, Master Lupset, If these remedies
 certayn remedys for the most commyn dyseasys in thys be well applied,
 polytyke body before notyd, wych, yf they be wel ap- the parts will
 plyd, schal meruelously dyspose the partys also to soon be cured.
 receyue cure *and* remedy of the partycular dyseasys 656
 reynyng therin, wych euer spryng out of the general,
 as you schal perceyue in our communicatyon hereaftur,
 when ouer-more the ground of the cure schalbe drawn 660

661 out of thes, of the wych now we haue spoken. For
euen lyke as the sykenes of the partys for the most
sprynghy¹ of some mysordur in the hole body, so they
cure of the same must be taken out of the cure of the
hole.

L. thinks these
matters have
been treated too
briefly,

22. *Lvpset*.—Syr, thys I see ryght wel, that, euen
as you say, thes general thyngys wel remedyd schold
schortly bryng in gud ordur in the partys. Wherefore
669 me thynke you passe them ouer-schortly. I wold that
you schold haue schowyd somewhat more at large *and*
partycularly the mean *and* fascyon of theyr cure *and*
remedy.

but P. says he
only intended to
touch certain
general things,
and leave the
rest to others.

23. *Pole*.—*Master Lvpset*, as touchyng that thyng,
you must euer remembyr my purpos here intendyd,
wych ys, as I schowyd before, only to touch certayn
general thyngys, as by a commentary to *conserue and*
677 kepe in memory; *and* the rest to leue to the prudence
of them wych haue authoryte *and* rule to put such
thyngys in executyon as, by thes general thyngys of me
notyd, they may be put in remembraunce of only. For
yf I schold partycularly prosecute euery thyng at large
682 perteynyng to thes materys, we schold not fynyseh our
communcatyon thys xv. days *and* more; for euery
mater requyryth almost a hole boke *and* volume.

True, says L.;
let us go on.

[* Page 19.]

24. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, you say therin truthe, wythout
fayle. I perceyue hyt ys suffycient for your purpos now
to geddur certayn *thyngys, wherby pryneys may be ad-
monyschyd to put such other in executyon wych of thes
689 may be schortly gedduryd. *And* therfor let vs go on
after the maner befor vsyd.

P. goes on to
speak of that
"frenzy in the
head," on which
all other diseases
hang.

25. *Pole*.—We notyd, yf you cal to remembrance,
in the chefe parte of the body, that ys, the hede, an
appropriat dysease, wych we callyd then a freneye, the
wych dysease yf we coude fynd the mean to cure, al
695 the mysordurys in the rest of the party schold easely

¹ MS. sprynghy.

be helyd ; for al hange apon thys. Therfor the wyse 696
 phylosophar Plato in al hys commyn welth chiefly
 laburyd to see gud offycerys, hedys, *and* rularys, the
 wych schold be, as hyt were, lyuely lawys ; for the wych Good rulers are
 very necessary.
 cause also, aftur myn opynyon, he thought no thyng
 necessary to wryte any lawys to hys commynalty ; for
 yf the hedys in a commyn wele were both just, gud, 702
and wyse, ther schold nede non other lawys to the
 popul. But how myght thys be brought to passe, But how to get
 them ?
 Master Lvpset, in our commyn wele *and* cuntre ?
 Thynke you hyt were possybul ?

26. **Lvpset.**—I thynke by no mannys wyt. *And* L. thinks by no
 man's wit, and
 that Plato only
 dreamed.
 therfor Plato imagynyd only *and* dremyd apon such a
 commyn wele as neuer yet was found, nor neuer, I
 thynke, schalbe, except God wold send downe hys 710
 angellys, *and* of them make a cyte ; for man by nature
 ys so frayle *and* corrupt, that so many wyse men in a
 commynalty to fynd, I thynke hyt playn impossybul.

27. **Pole.**—Wel, Master Lvpset, here you must P. does not look
 for such as Plato
 described,
 vnderstond that we loke not for such hedys as Plato
 descrybyth in hys pollycy, for that ys out of hope wyth 716
 vs to be found ; nor yet for such wyse men as the
 Stoykys descrybe, *and* auneyent phylosoph[arys.] But
 aftur a more cyuyle *and* commyn sort, we wyl mesure
 they wysdome of them whome we wold to rule, that
 ys to say, such as wyl not in al thyngys nother folow 721
 theyr owne affectyonys, nother yet in whome al affectys
 are drownyd *and* taken quyte away ; but, obseruyng a but such as prefer
 the common
 good to all other
 things ;
 certayn reasonabul mean, euer haue theyr yes fyxed to
 the commyn wele, *and* that aboue al thyng euer to pre-
 ferre, to that euer redresse al theyr actys, thoughtys, 726
and dedys. Such men, I say, yf we myght set in our
 *commyn wel *and* pollycy, schold be suffyeyent for vs. [* Page 20.]

28. **Lvpset.**—Sir, I thynke we were happy yf we
 myght such fynd.

29. **Pole.**—Wel, let vs consydur then, *and* procede. 731

732 Fyrst, thys ys certayn in our commyn wel, as hyt ys
instytute : a grete parte of thys mater hangyth apon
one pine ; for thys ys sure, our cuntrey ys not so
and such might be found. barrayn of honest men, but such myght be found,
speecyally yf the vth were a lytyl brought vp aftur such

737 maner as we schal touch hereaftur. The pine that I
We must have a good prince to rule ; this is the foundation of all good.
spake of ys thys—to haue a gud prynce to gouerne *and*
rule. Thys ys the ground of al felycyte in the cyuyle
lyfe. Thys ys [the] fundatyon of al gud pollycy in
such a kynd of state as ys in our cuntrey. The prynce

742 instytutyth *and* makyth almost al vnder offycerys. He
hathe authoryte *and* rule of al. Therfor, yf we coud
fynd a mean to haue a gud prynce *comanyly*, thys
schold be a commyn remedy, almost, as I sayd, for al
the rest of the mysorduris in the pollycy.

L. This rests with
God alone.

30. **Lvpset.**—Mary, *Sir*, that ys trothe ; but thys
lyth in God only, *and* not in mannys powar.

P. True ;
but God requires
diligence, by
which we may
obtain all things
necessary.

31. **Pole.**—*Master Lupset*, though thys be trothe,
that al gudnesse *commyth* of God, as out of the
fountayn, yet God requyryth the dylygence of man in
al such thyng as *perteynyth* to hys felycyte. The
prouydence of God hath thys ordeynyd, that man schal
not haue any thyng *perfayte*, nor attayne to hys *per-*
fectyon, wythout cure *and* tranayle, labur *and* dylygence ;
by the wych, as by money, we may by al thyng of
God, who ys the only marchant of al thyng that ys

758 gud.

L. asks what
Pole means ?

32. **Lvpset.**—What mean you by this ? Wold you
that man schold prouyde hym a prynce, *and* forme hym
aftur hys owne faseyon, as hyt were in mannys powar
that to dow, *and* by dylygence to gyue hym wysdome
763 *and* gudnes ?

33. **Pole.**—Nay, *Master Lvpset*,¹ I mene nothyng
so ; for hyt ys God that makyth man, and of hym *only*
commyth al wysdome *and* gudnesse, as I sayd euen now.

¹ MS. le.

But, *Master Lvpset*, to see what I mean somewhat more 767

clere, let vs *consyður* thys mater a lytyl hyar. The

gudnes of God, out of the wych *spryngyth* al thyng

that ys gud, hathe made man, of al creaturys in erth,

most *perfayt*, gyyng vnto hym a sparkyl of his owne

dyuynyte,—that ys to say, ryght reson,—wherby he

schold gouerne hymselfe in cyuyle lyfe *and* gud pollycy, 773

accordyng to hys excellent *nature *and* dygnyte. But

wyth thys same sparkyl of reson, thys to man gyuen,

are joynyd by nature so many affectys *and* vycyouse

desyrys, by the reson of thys erthly body, that (except

man wyth cure, dylygence, *and* labur, resy[s]te to the

same) they ouer-run reson, thys lytyl sparkyl, *and* so

bryng man, *consequently*, from hys natural felicyte, *and* 780

from that lyfe wych ys conuenient to hys nature *and*

dygnyte; in so much that he ys then as a brute best,

folowyng not the ordynance of God, wych gaue hym

reson to subdue hys affectys as much as the nature of

the body wold suffur. For yf he had gyuen hym so

much reson *and* wysedom that he schold neuer haue

byn ouercome wyth affectys *and* vayn desyrys, he

schold haue made man aboue man, *and* made hym as 788

an angel; *and* so ther schold haue lakkyd here in thys

world the nature of man. But the gudnes of God

(wych only therby mouyd made thys sensybul world)

wold suffur no thyng to lake to the perfectyon therof,

who dyd *communycat* Hys owne gudnes *and* perfectyon 793

to euery thyng accordyng to the capacitye of hys grosse

nature. *And* thys man coude not be made, being by

nature in such *imperfectyon* of hys erthely body, to any

more perfectyon; hys body wold suffur no more of that

celestyal lyght. Notwythstandyng, thys ys true, that 798

to some man thys lyght ys more *communyd*, to some

man lesse, accordyng to the nature of hys body, *and*

accordyng to hys educatyon *and* gud instructyon in the

commyn welth, where he ys brought forth of nature.

P. answers:
God made man,
and gave him
reason to govern
himself;

[* Page 21.]

but with reason
He joined affec-
tions and vicious
desires, which,
without care,
overrun reason
and make man
a brute.

If He had given
him more reason,
he would have
been as an angel,

and so lacked the
nature of man.
But God would
not suffer this.

Some have more
light than others,
according to their
education;

and it is the same
with nations.

And thys ys the cause, as hyt apperyth to me, that one
man ys more wyse then another ; ye, *and* one natyon

805 more prudent *and* polytyke then another. Howbehyt,

All may subdue
the affections by
reason ; when
men do so, they
are governed by
God's providence ;

I thynke non ther ys so rude *and* bestely, but, wyth
cure and dylygence, by that same *sparkyl* of reson
gyuen of God, they may subdue theyr affectyonys, *and*
folow the lyfe to the wych they be instytute *and*
ordeynynd of God ; the wych ordur when man wyth

811 reson folowyth, he ys then gouernyd by the prouydence
of God. Lyke as, contrary, when he, by neelygence,
suffryth thys reson to be ouercome wyth vycyouse
affectys, then he, so blynded, lyuyth contrary to the
ordynance *of God, *and* fallyth vturly out of Hys pro-

[* Page 22.]

816 uydenche, *and* ys lad by hys owne ignorance. He ys
then subiecte to thys world *and* to the kyngdome of the
deuyl ; he then hath [for] hys rular, folysch fancy *and*
vayne opynyon, wych euer lede hym to hys confusyon.

when they do not,
they are under
the devil.

He could confirm
all this, but will
not.

Al thys that I haue sayd, I coude confyrme, both by the
sentence of old phylosophy *and* holy Scrypture ; but,
bycause I see here ys not the place now to dyspute,
823 but to take *and* admytt the truthe tryd by ancyeat
wyttys *and* celestyal wysedome *and* doctryne, I wyl
thys pretermytt *and* set apart.

Living in civil
order, nations
are governed by
God's providence ;

(33.) And now to our purpos. Euen as euery par-
tycular man, when he folowyth reson, ys gouernyd by
God, and, contrary, blyndyd wyth ignorance by hys
owne vayn opynyon ; so hole natyonys, when they
830 lyue togyddur in cyuyle ordur, instytute *and* gouernyd
by resonabul pollycey, are then gouernyd by the pro-
uydenche of God, *and* be vnder Hys tuytyon. As, con-

but without good
order, by tyrants.

contrary, when they [are] wythout gud ordur *and* polytyke
rule, they are rulyd by the violence of tyranny ; they
835 are not gouernyd by Hys prouydence nor celestyal
ordynance, but, as a man gouernyd by affectys, so they
be tormentyd infynyte ways, by the reson of such
tyrannycal powar ; so that of thys you may se that hyt

ys not God that prouedyth tyrannys to rule in cytes
and townes, no more then hyt ys He that ordeynyth yl
 affectys to ouer-run ryght reson. But now to the
 purpos, *Master Lvpset*. Hyt ys not man that can make
 a wyse prynce of hym that lakkyth wyt by nature, nor
 make hym just that ys a tyranne for plesure. But thys
 ys in mannys powar, to electe *and* chose hym that ys
 both wyse *and* iust, *and* make hym a prynce, *and* hym
 that ys a tyranne so to depose. Wherfor, *Master*
Lvpset, thys I may truly say, to the wych al thys reson-
 yng now tendyth,—that yf we wyl correcte thys freney
 in our commyn wele, we may not at a venture take hym
 to our prynce, what so euer he be, that ys borne of hys
 blode *and* cumyth by successyon, the wych, *and* you
 remembyr, we notyd befor also to be one of the gretyst
 fautys, as hyt ys in dede, in our pollycy; the wych
 faute, onys correcte, schal *also take away thys freney.
 Yf we can fynd a way to amend thys, we schal not
 gretely labour to cure the rest; for as to say, as many
 men dow, that the prouydence of God ordeynyth
 tyrannys for the punnyschment of the pepul, thys agreth
 no thyng wyth phylosophy nor reson; no, nor yet to
 the doctryne of Chryst *and* gud relygyon. For by the
 same mean, as I sayd a lytyl before, you myght say,
 that hyt ys the prouydence [of] God that euery par-
 ticular man folowyth hys affectys, blyndyd wyth ignor-
 ance *and* foly; *and* so hyt schold folow, the foly *and*
 vyce commyth of the prouydence of God, wych ys no
 waye to be admyttyd, but only as thys, that the pro-
 uydence of God hath ordeynyd of Hys gudnes such a
 creature to be, wych may, by hys owne foly, folow hys
 owne affectys. But when he doth so, thys ys sure—
 he folowyth not the ordynance of God, but, ouercome
 by plesure *and* blyndyd wyth ignorance, flythe from
 hyt *and* slyppyth from hys owne dygnyte. Therfor

God does not
provide tyrants.

841

Man cannot make
a wise prince,

but he can elect
a wise one, and
can depose a
tyrant.

847

852

Freney.¹
[* Page 23.]

God does not
ordain tyrants
for the punish-
ment of the
people,

861

any more than
He makes a man
follow his evil
inclinations.

868

873

¹ In margin of MS.

Tyranny is the
greatest of all illis,
and cannot come
from God;

neuer attriibute tyranny (of al yl the gretyst) to the
prouydence of God, except you wyl, consequently, at-
trybut al yl to the Fontayn of gudnes; wych ys no

877 thyng conuenient, but playn wykdydnes *and* impyety.

but it is to be
attributed to the
malice of man
and the negli-
gence of the
people.

But, aftur my mynd *and* opynyon, you schal attriibut
thys tyranny partely to the malyce of man (who by
nature ys ambycyouse *and* of al plesure most desyrouse)
and partely to neclygence of the pepul, wych suffer
themselves to be oppresyd therwyth. Wherfor, *Master*

To cure this
frenzy, the
tyranny must be
taken away.

Lupset, yf we wyl cure thys pernyceyouse frenecey, we
must begyn to take away thys pestylent tyranny, the
wych to dow ys no thyng hard for to deuyse.

886 (33.) But here you must remembyr, *Master Lupset*

(as we sayd in our fyrst day's communycatyon) that al be
hyt we haue now in our days, by the prouydence of God,
such a prynce, *and* of such wysedome, that he may ryght
wel *and* justely be subiecte to no law,—whose prudence
and wysedome ys lyuely law *and* true pollycey,—yet we

No need for this
during the pre-
sent reign;

892 now (wych al such thyngys as sylldome happun haue

not in consyderatyon, but such thyngys only loke vnto
wych, for the most parte, happun *and* be lykly, *and*
such as be mete to a iust *and* commyn pollycey) may not
deny but that in our ordur here ys a certayn faute,

897 *and* to the same now deuyse of some remedy. Wherin

the fyrst *and* best mean ys thys, aftur my mynd *and*
opynyon, here in our cuntrey to be taken; aftur the
decesse of the prynce, by electyon of the commyn
voyce of the parlyament assemblyd to chose one, most
apte to that hye offyce *and* dygnyte, wych schold not
rule *and* gouerne al at hys owne plesure *and* lyberty,
but euer be subiecte to the ordur of hys lawys. But

but when the
king dies, parlia-
ment must
choose the most
apt to that high
office,

and he to be ever
subject to the
laws.

here to schow how he schold be electe, *and* aftur what
maner *and* fascyon, that we schal leue to partyeular
consyderatyon, and *take thys for a sure ground *and*
foundatyon to delyuer vs from al confusyon; for truly

909 thys ys the fyrst way wych wel *and* justely may delyuer

vs out of al tyranny. Thys hath byn euer vsyd among 910
 them wych haue euer lyuyd vnder a prynce wyth
 lyberty; wherby they haue byn gouernyd by lyuely
 reson, *and* not subiecte to dedely affectyon. The
 seconde mean, as me semyth, may wel be thys, yf we
 wyl *that* they heyrys of the prynce schal euer succeede,
 what so euer he be, then to hym must be joynyd a
 counsele by *commyn* authoryte; not such as he wyl,
 but such as by the most parte of the *parlyament* 918
 schal be jugyd to be wyse *and* mete thervnto.

If we will let
 the heir succeed,
 a council must
 be joined with
 him.

34. *Lvpset*.—Why, but then, by thys mean, our
parlyament schold haue much to dow, yf, when so euer
 lakkyd any conseylar, hyt schold be callyd to subrogate
 other, *and* set in theyr place.

L. objects on
 account of the
 work;

923

35. *Pole*.—Nay, *Master Lvpset*, I wold not so; but
 for that a prouysyon must be had: *and* that myght be
 thys. For as much as they grete *parlyament* schold
 neuer be callyd but only at the electyon of our prynce,
 or els for some other grete vrgent cause concernyng 928
 the *commyn* state *and* pollycy, I wold thynke hyt wel
 yf that at London schold euer be remeynyng (bycause
 hyt ys the chefe cyty of our reame) the authoryte of the
parlyament, wych euer ther schold be redy to remedy
 al such causys, *and* represses sedycyonys, *and* defende 933
 the lyberty of the hole body of the pepul, at al such
 tyme as they kyng or hys conseyl tendyd to any thyng
 hurtful *and* prejudycial to the same. Thys conseyl *and*

but P. would
 only have the
 Great Parliament
 called at the
 election of a
 Prince.

authoryte of *parliament* schold rest in thes personys:—
 fyrst, in iiij of the gretyst *and* ancyent lordys of the tem-
 poralty; ij byschoppys, as of London *and* Cantorbury;
 iiij of the chefe jugys; *and* iiij of the most wyse cytyzynes
 of London. Thes men, joyntly togyddur, schold haue
 authoryte of the hole *parlyament* in such tyme as the
parlyament were dyssol[u]yd. Thys authoryte schold
 be chefely instytutyd to thys end *and* purpos,—to see
 that the kyng *and* hys *propur* counsele schold do no- 945

A Council to
 consist of
 4 Temporal Peers,
 2 Bishops,
 4 Judges,
 4 Citizens of
 London.

It is to have the
 authority of the
 Parliament,

and watch over the laws, and to call the Great Parliament when necessary.

The king to do nothing without the authority of his proper

[* Page 25.]

Council, which shall consist of 2 bishops, 4 lords, and 4 learned men.

By their advice all patronage to be bestowed, and all faults corrected,

even down to the feet of the body politic.

Goute.¹

thyng agayne the ordynance of hys lawys *and* gud pol-lycy ; *and* they schold haue also powar to cal the grete parlyament when so euer to them hyt schold semie neces-

950 alty. By thys conseyll, also, schold passe al actys of leegys, confederatyon, peace, *and* warre. Al the rest schold be mynystryd by the kyng *and* hys conseyll. But thys, aboue al, as a ground, schold be layd,—that the kyng schold dow no thyng *perteynyng* to the state of hys *reame wythout the authoryte of hys *propur* counseyll appoyntyd to hym by thys authoryte. Thys counseyll schold be of ij byschoppys, iiij lordys, *and* iiij of the best lernyd *and* polytyke men, expert in the lawys, both

959 spiritual *and* temporal. *And* so thys conseyll, though we toke our prynce by successyon, for the avoydyng of sedycyon, schold delyuer vs from al tyranny, setting vs in true lyberty. *And* so we schold haue, consequently, the ground of thys frency taken away ; for, by the counseyll of thos appoyntyd to the kyng, al byschoprykys *and* grete offycys schold be dystributyd *and* gyuen ; *and* al grete fautys *and* enermytes openly commyttyd schold

967 be, by theyr prudence, justely punnysschyd. Al other inferyor lordys, knyghtys, *and* gentylmen, wych dyd not theyr offyce *and* duty in admynystratyon of justyce wyth equyte toward theyr subiectys in such thyngys as they had juryssdyceyon of, schold be callyd to count, *and*

972 before them gyue rekenyng of al thyngys downe of them, wherof by any man they were accusyd.

(35.) Thys bande of rekenyng before the conseyll of hyar authoryte schold make the vnder offycerys to be ware *and* dilygent to dow theyr duty ; wych yf they dyd, by *and* by schold folow the correctyon of the other par-tycular fautys wych we notyd to be in the partys to the fetys *and* handys of the commyn wele resemblyd ; the wych fautys were no thyng els but other neelygence of

¹ In margin of MS.

the pepul, or els, at the lest, *sprynghyng*¹ out of the same. 981

For, as touchyng thys, that the ground lyth so vntyllyd, *and* craftys be so yl occupyd, here in our natyon, hyt ys of no thyng chefeldy but of neelygence of the pepul

The ground lies untilld through negligence of the people.

or vayn occupatyon. Wherfor, yf such neelygence, *perceyuyd and* prouyd at courtys openly in euery vyllage *and* towne, bothe of plowmen *and* artysanys, were by the offycerys punnyschyd by certayn payn fortytyd,

If this were punished, people would be better occupied, and ground better tilled;

preserybyng the same, you schold haue bothe craftys 989

bettur occupyd, *and* also the ground more dilygently tyllyd; specyally yf the statute of inclosure were put in executyon, *and* al such pasture put to the vse of the plowgh as before tyme hath byn so vsyd; for in many

especially if the statute of enclosure were put in force.

placys herin ys enydently *perceyuyd* much neelygence *and* grete lake in the applying of the ground to the plowgh. Thys must be amendyd, *and* then you schal 996

*se both al thyngys in more abundance *and* the polytyke body more lyuely *and* quyke.

[* Page 26.]

(35.) Thys goute, bothe in the fete *and* handys, schold be much therby easyd, specyally yf to thys also were joynyd a nother ordynance, of no les profyt, as I 1001

thynke, then thys; wych ys,—that al craftys men in cytys *and* townys wych are drunkerys, gyuen to the bely *and* plesure therof, eardarys *and* dysarys, *and* al other gyuen to ydul gamys, schold be by the same offycerys obseruyd *and* punnyschyd. Of the wych thyngys the offycerys schold haue as much regard as of robbery *and* adultery, the wych spryng vndowtydly out of thes fountayns as out of the chefe *and* pryncypal causys therof. 1009

P. would also have all drunkards and gamblers punished.

Wherfor we must study to cut away the causys, yf we wyl remedy, *and* not only punnysch, the effecte, as we dow *commynly*. I thynke surely that yf the vnder offycerys *and* rularys appoyntyd therto wold study as wel to punnysch them wych lay the ground of such 1014

Such offences to be carefully observed by the officers appointed.

mysery *and* myscheffe, as they dow the dowarys therof,

MS. *sprynkyng*.

1016 ther wold not be so much mysordur among the *commyn*
 pepul as now ther ys. The law can go no ferther but
 to the dede ; but the offycerys may take away, by gud
 prudence *and* pollycy, the *partycular* cause of the
 dede *commynly*. The glotony of Englonde *and* they
 idul gamys be no smal occasyon of al adultery, rob-
 bery, *and* other myscheffe. Therfor, yf the offycerys

Gluttony and idle
 games are the
 cause of adultery
 and robbery.

1023 in courtys, *and* curatys also, lokyd *and* studyd to the
 remoung of thos causys dilygently, thys goute that we
 spake of schold be vturly taken away surely ; and then
 schold folow, by *and* by, also the cure of the other grete
 faute wych we found in exteryor thyngys, wych we
 notyd, consequently, aftur the other. For euen lyke as

Take away the
 causes, and the
 cure will follow.

1029 one dysease *commyth* of a nother in thys polytyke body,
 so the cure of one also folowyth a nother. For wherof
 cumyth the penury of al exteryor thyngys necessary to
 thys body, but of the neclygence of the pepul ? Vndowt-
 ydly thys ys the cheffe cause therof *commynly*. Wher-
 for, fyndyng mean that they pepul may be compellyd to
 dilygent *exerceyse of theyr offyce *and* duty, therto

Penury.¹

Poverty the result
 of negligence.

[* Page 27.]

1036 folowyth forth wythal abundance of thyngys necessary ;
 specyally yf to that were joynyd a nother ordynance²
 (wych, peraventure, schal seme to you but a smal thyng,
 but in dede hyt ys of gret weyght) wych ys, concernyng
 the frate of marchandyse ; by whome the abundaunce
 of al exteryor thyngys may be much forderyd, yf hyt
 be orderyd to the *commyn* wele, wythout regard of pry-
 uate gayne *and* profyt apou any parte, wythout equitye.

He again urges
 the necessity of
 restricting ex-
 ports to such
 things as the
 country can well
 spare,

and the imports
 to such as we
 cannot produce.

And, concernyng thys mater, thys ys the cheffe poynte :
 that the marchauntys cary out only such thyngys as
 may be wel lakkyd wythin our owne cuntre, wythout
commyn detryment to our natyon ; *and* bryng in such
 thyngys agayn as we haue nede of here at home, *and* as,
 by the dilygence of our owne men, can not be made.

¹ In margin of MS.

² MS. nordenance.

Thys thyng, put in vse *and* in executyon, schold be a grete ground of al abundaunce *and* plenty. 1050

(35.) For, fyrst, to begyn wyth thys :—the caryage out of wolle to the stapul ys a grete hurte to the pepul of Englund ; though hyt be profytabul both to the prynce *and* to the marchant also. For by thys mean the clothyng of Englund ys in vtur dekey—the gretyst destructyon that euer cam to our reame, *and* the gretyst ruyne of many craftys wych long to the same. Wherfor, yf thys stapul were broken or otherwyse redressyd, *and* clothyng set vp in Englund agayne, thys ys sure :—the com- 1055

modityte of our wolle *and* cloth schold bryng in al other thyngys that we haue nede of out of al other straunge partys beyond the see. Ye, *and* though our cloth, at the fyrst begynnyng, wold not be so gud peranenture, as hyt ys made in other partys, yet, in processe of tyme, I can not see wy but that our men, by dylygence, myght attayne therto ryght wel ; specyally yf the prynce wold study therto, in whose powar hyt lyth chefely such 1061

thyngys to helpe. Ther be marchant men that, by the helpe of the *prynce, wyl vndertake in few yerys to bryng clothyng to as grete perfectyon as hyt ys in other partys, wych, yf hyt were downe, hyt schold be the gretyst bunfyte to increse the ryches of Englund that myght be deuysyd. They wych now fach our wol 1066

schold be glad to fach our cloth made in our reame ; wherby schold be occupyd infynyte pepul, wych now lyue in idulnes, wrechyd *and* pore. And the same thyng ys to be sayd both of lede *and* tyn. Our marchantys cary them out at plesure, *and* then bryng the same in workyd agayn, *and* made vessel therof. *And* so of infynyte other thyngys we myght say, the wych the gudnes of nature hath to our yle gyuen, they wych now ys not nede to reherse but thys generally. They 1074

schold be glad to fach our cloth made in our reame ; wherby schold be occupyd infynyte pepul, wych now lyue in idulnes, wrechyd *and* pore. And the same thyng ys to be sayd both of lede *and* tyn. Our marchantys cary them out at plesure, *and* then bryng the same in workyd agayn, *and* made vessel therof. *And* so of infynyte other thyngys we myght say, the wych the gudnes of nature hath to our yle gyuen, they wych now ys not nede to reherse but thys generally. They 1082

Wool not to be exported;

cloths, too, made at home Clothyng.¹

would not at first be so good,

but in a few years would [* Page 28.] be as well made as the foreign cloths.

Marchantys.¹ Lead and tin are now carried out and brought back manufactured.

¹ In margin of MS.

1084 marchaunt must be prohybytyd to bryng in any such
 thyngys wych may be made by the dylygence of our
 owne men. Wyne, ueluettyes, *and* sylkys, they may
 bryng in, but not in such abundance as they *commynly*
 dow, wych causyth much yl, as we sayd before. Wher-
 for the statute of apparayle must be put in executyon,
and such *commyn tauernys* of wynys wold be forbyden.
 They cause much yl *and* misery. But what thyngys
 they schal cary out, *and* what thyngys bryng in, the

Wines, velvets,
 and silks, may
 be brought in.

Common taverns
 to be forbidden.
 They cause much
 misery.

1093 offycerys appoyntyd to the ouersyght therof must euer
 prescrybe ; for thys cannot be determyd but accord-
 yng to the abundance *and* penury of thyngys prudently
 consydera. Hyt ys to be reseruyd. But thes offycerys
 must be appoyntyd wyse *and* expert men in euery grete

1098 cyte, hauen, *and* port.

(35.) And here a nother poynt for to ayd the abund-
 ance cumyth to my remembrance—I thynke [it] gud
and profytabul—wych ys thys : that the vnresonabul
 custume *commynly* appoyntyd must [be] abatyd ; *and*
 specyally to them wych bryng in thyngys necessary,

Customs' dues to
 be abated.
 Custume.¹

1104 wherby they may be prouokyd more gladly to bryng in.
 For as the ordur ys now, the prynce hath more [than] halfe
 of theyr gayne, wych thyng gyuyth them lytyl courage to
 travayle *and* to take payn. Hyt schold be also no smal
 furtherance many ways, as I thynke, yf hyt were or-
 deynyd that our owne marchauntys schold cary out *and*
 bryng in wyth our owne vessellys, *and* not vse the

English vessels
 should be em-
 ployed.

1111 straungerys schyppys as they now dow ; by the reson
 wherof our owne marynerys oft-tymys lye idul. *A
 nother grete thyng ther ys, as I thynke, wych schold
 much helpe to make abundance of al thyng necessary
 for the lyfe—to constrayn the plowmen *and* fermerys to
 be more dylygent in reryng of al maner of bestys *and*
 catayl ; for by theyr neclygence vndowtydly rysyth a
 1118 grete parte of the darth of al such thyngys as for fode

Farmers to be
 constrained to
 rear more cattle.

[* Page 29.]

¹ In margin of MS.

ys necessary : for the lake of such thyngys, causyd by 1119
such neclygence, ys one chefe cause¹ of the derth therof.

And a nother ther ys wych few men obserue ; wych ys
the inhansyng of rentys of late days inducyd, as we
sayd before ; for yf they fermerys pay much rent, *and*
more then ys reson, they must nedys sel dere of neces-
syte : for he that byth dere may sel dere also iustely. 1125

Wherfor thys ordynance wold be profytabul—that al
such rentys as be inhaunsyd by memory of man schold
be rebatyd, *and* set to the old stynt of that tyme when
the pepul of Englonde floryschyd ; for now they are
brough[t] almost to the mysery of Fraunce, by the yl
gouernance of late days, *and* auaryce of the hedys *and*
rularys of them. Thys ground must be take away, 1132

yf we intend euer to remedy thys grete darth, wych ys
now of al thyngys among vs reynyng. Wherof the
ground surely ys thys, for thys makyth, wythout fayle,
al kynd of vytail more dere then hyt was wont to be,
wych commyth al out of the cuntrey. *And, consequently,*
when vytail ys dere, then they craftysman must nede
sel hys ware aftur the same rate ; for hyt costyth hym 1139
more in nuryschyng hys famyly *and* artyfycerys therof
then before hyt was wont to dow. *And so, consequently,*
of thys rote spryngyth al darth of al thyngys wych we
schold haue by the dylygence *and* labur of the pepul.

(35.) Wherfor we may surely conclude, that yf thys
thyngys were rémedyd aftur thys maner, both concern-
yng marchauntys, laburarys of the ground, *and* fermerys
therof, we schold in few yerys haue abundance of al 1147
thyng aftur the old maner ; we schold haue thys myser-
abul pouerty taken away. For, as for beggarys lusty *and*
strong, ye, *and* thefys also, schold be but few or non at
al of that sorte as they be now. For yf thys multytude
of seruyng men were *plukkyd away aftur the maner as
I schowyd you before, the rote of al that sorte schold 1153

Rents are raised ;
this is another
evil.

England is
brought almost
to the misery of
France.

All kinds of
victuals are
dearer than they
were.

If these ills were
remedied, there
would be plenty
instead of dearth ;

thieves would
be but few,

[* Page 30.]

¹ MS. chause.

- 1154 vturly perysch. *And* as for thos the wych nature hath
 and impotent / brought[t] forth *impotent*, or by syknes are fallen therto,
 people easily they schold be but few, *and* easely schold be nuryschyd,
 nourished, they schold be but few, *and* easely schold be nuryschyd,
 as they are in cytyzys of Ipar, a cyte in Flaundres, the wych I
 now in Flanders. wold wysch to be put in vse wyth vs, or els some other
- 1160 of the same sort. How be hyt, to haue some such as
 by nature are *impotent and* pore, I thynke hyt ys the
 ordynance of God to a gud purpos; for such pouerty
 exerceysyth wel the pytuose myndys of them wych haue
 enough, *and* puttyth them in remembrance of the *im-*
- 1165 becyllyte of mannys nature. Wherfor hyt may be wel
 suffryd to haue some to go aboute to prouoke men to
 Some sick persons going about will
 provoke men to pity. *mercy and* pyte, *and* to proue *and* tempt theyr louyng
 charyte. But to retorne. Thys grete nombur of sturdy
 beggarys therby schold vturly be taken away, *and* also
- 1170 the grete pouerty of the laburarys of the grounde. *And*
 Abundance.¹ thys, *Master Lvpset*, abundance of al thyngys we schold
 hane in our cuntre.

36. *Lupset*.—But, Syr, hyt ys not enowh, as we
 sayd before, to haue thyngys necessary in abundance,
 but we must haue al *commyn* ornamentys of our *commyn*
 L. asks about the ornaments of the
 commonwealth. welth also, yf we wyl make the per fayt state before
 1177 descrybyd.

37. *Pole*.—Thes ornamentys, *Master Lupset*, of *com-*
 myn welys, as gudly cytes, castellys, *and* townys, wyl sone
 folow ryches *and* abundance as thyngys annexyd therto,
 yf ther were a lytyl regard therof *and* a lytyl more care
 put thervnto; for wher as ys ryches *and* abundance,
 1183 ther wyth a lytyl dylygence wyl sone be brought in al
commyn ornamentys; as gudly cytes *and* townys, wyth
 magnyfycal *and* gudly housys, fayr tempullys *and*
 churchys, wyth other *commyn* places; concernyng the
 wych I wold haue men to conferre euery yere a certayn
 summe, accordyng to theyr abylyte, to the byldyng *and*
 Every man should put by a
 certain sum for
 building public
 edifices.

¹ In margin of MS.

reforming of al such *commyn* placys in *euery* grete cyte 1189
and towne. *And* conuenient hyt were offycers to be
 appoyntyd to haue regard of the b[e]wty of the towne
and cuntrey, *and* of the elennes of the same, wych
 schold cause grete helth also, *and* (as I thynke) be a
 grete occasyon that the pestylens schold not reyne so 1194
 much as hyt doth wyth vs in our cuntre. But yf we wyl
 restore our cytes to such bewty as we see in other *cun-*
treys, we must *begyn of this ground. Our gentylmen
 must be causyd to retyre to cytes *and* townys, *and* to
 byld them housys in the same, *and* ther to see the
 gouernance of them, helping euer to set al such thyng
 forward as perteynyth to the ornamentys of the cyte. 1201
 They may not continually dwel in the cuntrey as they
 dow. This ys a gret rudenes *and* a barbarouse custume
 vsyd wyth vs in our cuntrey. They dwel wyth vs
 sparkyld in the feldys *and* woodys, as they dyd before
 ther was any cyuyle lyfe knowen, or stablyschyd
 among vs: the wych surely ys a grete ground of the 1207
 lake of al cyuyle ordur *and* humanyte. Wherfor this
 must be amendyd, yf we wyl euer replenysch our *cun-*
trey wyth gud cytes *and* townys, of the dekey wherof
 I thynke this ys one grete cause *and* manyfest occasyon.
 Wherfor this must be remedyd aftur this maner now 1212
 touchyd—to compel them at the lest to byld ther
 theyr housys, *and* sometymys ther to be resydent. The
 gret lordys *and* gentylmen wych for theyr plesure folow
 the court, wythout offyce or dygnyte, must be causyd 1216
 to retorne *and* inhabyte the cytes of theyr cuntreys; by
 the wych mean schortly the cytes schold be made
 beutyful *and* fayre, *and* formyd wyth much cyuylte.
And so this our cuntrey schold not only be replenyschyd
 wyth pepul wel occupyd, *euery* man in hys offyce *and*
 degre, but also we schold haue grete abundance of al
 thyngys, as wel of such thyng as our cuntrey, by the
 dyligence of man, wold bere *and* bryng forth, as of 1224

Cities and towns
to be kept clean
for the sake of
the public health.

[* Page 31.]
Gentlemen should
build houses in
cities and towns,
and live in them.

It is rude and
barbarous always
to live in the
country.

This custom must
be amended,

and gentlemen
compelled to
live in cities.

If these things
were done, our
cities would be
beautified,
our country
replenished,

and the people
have abundance,

- as well as all ornaments suitable to our country.
- 1225 such thyng as by marchauntys schold be brought in out of other *partys*. *And* yet, moreouer, you schold playnly see, that we schold haue wythal, consequently, al ornamentys conuenient to the nature of our cuntrey, wych wyl not suffur to be so ornat *and* so beutyful, in euery degre, as other cuntreys be, as Italy, Fraunce,
- 1231 *and* Germany. The defecte of nature ys *with* vs such, by the reson wherof we haue not such thyngys as schold *ornate our cuntrey aftur such maner, notwythstandyng we haue *and* may haue by dylygence al such thyng as schalbe requyryd to thys commyn wel, the
- [* Page 32.]
- 1236 wych we haue before descrybyd. Wherfor, Master Lupset, we may now, consequently, procede to correcte the fantys wych be in the pollycy *and* in the maner of admyynystratyon of our commyn wele ; the wych ys, as hyt were, the soule to the body ; for hyther
- We may now correct the faults in the policy, and administration of the commonwealth.
- 1241 to we haue schowyd *and* touchyd the maner of the correctyng only such mysordurys as be in the body *and* in the *partys* of the same. Wherfor, now, Mastur Lvpset, yf you thynke hyt tyme, *and* except you remembyr any thyng not spoken of wych ys nede apon
- 1246 thys parte, let vs go forward therto.

[CHAPTER II.]

1. Lvpset.—Syr, for as much as I remembyr the knot betwyx the body *and* the soule, *and* the commonyon betwyx them also to be of that sorte that they
- L. thinks Pole might go on
- 4 dyseasys of the one redunde to the other, therfor I thynke such dyseasys of the body (yf ther be any yet left behynd) schalbe curyd by the correctyon *and* cure of such as perteyne to the lyfe *and* soule of the same. Wherfor I thynke you may procede, yf you wold a lytyl
- to show how this
- schow more at large how thys body schold be kept *and*

conseruyd contynually in helth, *and* in thys prosperouse state wych you haue deserybyd.

body may be kept in health.

2. *Pole.*—Why, *Master Lvpset*, dow you not perceyue how that schal folow of necessity to the cure of the mysordurys wych remayn in the lyfe, *and*, as hyt were, the soule of thys polytyke body, euen lyke as hyt ys in mannys body, to the wych I oft resembyl the same, wherin you see the *conseruatyon* therof? In helth *and* prosperouse state muche hangyth apon the temperance *and* soburnes of the mynd, in so much that you schal see veray few of sobur *and* temperat dyat, but they haue helthy *and* welthy bodys, except the[y] hurt themselfys by some exteryor cause manyfest *and* playn; as ouer much or lytyl exerceyse, or abydyng in some pestylent *and* corrupt ayre, *and* *such other lyke. Euen so hyt ys in this polytyke body, be you assuryd, yf we may fynd the mean now, in thys our communicatyon folowyng, to correcte the fautys in our pollycy, thys prosperouse state schal surely long contynue, *and* thys polytyke body helthy *and* welthy long schal indure. A certayn argument therof we haue of the most nobul cyte of Venyce, wych, by the reson of the gud ordur *and* pollycy that therin ys vsyd, hath contynuyd aboue a thousand yerys in one ordur *and* state. Where as the pepul also, by the reson of theyr sobur *and* temperat dyat, be as helthy *and* welthy as any pepul now, I thynke, lyuyng apon the erth. Therefore, *Master Lupset*, by statute made *and* commynly receyuyd concernyng our dyat, we must be compellyd at the fyrst to folow thes men in soburnes *and* temperance; *and* then you schold neuer haue any occasyon to dowte therof nor feare the stabylte of our prosperouse state *and* gud pollycy. Speecyally, as I sayd, yf we may so tempur our polytyk ordur *and* rule, that they schal rest no faute theryn; for that ys the sure ground of the *conseruatyon* of the commyn wele in the polytyke

P. answers, health must of necessity follow cure.

15

In health, much depends on temperance.

Sober men are healthy and wealthy.

22

[* Page 83.]

And so it is in the body politic,

28

of which Venice is an evidence,

34

and we by statute made, must follow her example. We must be compelled to practise soberness and temperance.

41

45

Causes of ruin of
countries.

body. For, as you see manifestely dayly, the ruyn of
cuntreys, cytes, *and* townys, rysyth euer of thys ground
commynly, that ys to say, other of some tyranny, or
49 sedycyon made by the reson of some mysordur in the
polytyke gouernance *and* rule.

I. None can deny
it: go on.

3. *Lvpset*.—Syr, thys ys troth, no man may hyt
deny. And, therfor (wythout other delay) procede
aftur your maner proposyd.

P. Tyranny is
the root of every
ill, and must
have no place in
our common-
wealth.

4. *Pole*.—For by cause, *Master Lvpset*, tyranny in
al commynaltys ys the ground of al yl, the wel of al
myschefe and mysordur, the rote of al sedycyon, *and*
ruyne of al cyuylite, therfor we must aboue al pro-
58 uyde that to hyt in our cuntrey be no place at al. For

Man is miserable
when his reason
is overcome by
unruly affections.

as man ys then myserabul—though he haue neuer so
gud helth of body *and* prosperus state other ways—
when reson ys ouer-run *and* vnruelyd affectys gouerne
and reyne in hys ordur of lyfe; ye, *and* the bettur
helth of body *and* more abundance *of ryches that he

[* Page 34.]

64 hath *and* of wordly prosperyte, the more myserabul
he ys, *and* ful of wrechydues; so ys a cuntrey, cyte, or
towne, when hyt ys oppressyd wyth tyranny—though
hyt be neuer so wel replenyschyd wyth pepul helthy
and welthy, *and* ornate wyth the most gudly cytes of
69 the world, yet most myserabul *and* wrechyd *and* ful of
al aduersyte, as we hane before more at large declaryd.
Therfor, *Master Lvpset*, aboue al, as I sayd, of thys
we must haue regard, *and* stoppe al occasyon therof as

As no perfect
prince can be
found,

much as we may. And for as much as no prynce ys
found of such sorte as ys requyryd to a veray true *and*
pryncely state,—that ys to say, that passyth al other in
wysedome *and* vertue, w[h]ose stomake schold be a

Tyranny.¹

77 lyfely image of justyce *and* pollyey, *and* whose lyfe
schold be law to al other *and* exampl of al huma[n]yty;
—therfor we must, to avoyd al tyranny, wych in al
realynys runnyth in at thys hole (that ys to say, by

we must, to
avoid tyranny,
take care that he

¹ In margin of MS.

gyuyng authoryte to one wych ys not worthy of thys name of a prynee, the ful powar therof)—we must prouyd, I say, that by no prerogatyfe he vsurpe apon the pepul any such authorysyd tyranny, wyche the actys of *parlyamentys* in tyme past, vnder the *pretense* 85 of princely maiesty, hath grauntyd therto here in our cuntrey. Seing, therfor, that a pryneely state, as we haue prouyd before, ys most comenyent for our cuntrey *and* to the nature therof most agreabul; *and* seyng, also, that pryneys *comynly* are rulyd by affectys, 90 rather than by reson *and* ordur of iustyce; the lawys, wyche be syncere *and* pure reson, wythout any spot or blot of affectyon, must haue chefe authoryte; they must rule *and* gouerne the state, *and* not the prynee aftur hys owne lyberty *and* wyl. For thys cause the 95 most wyse men, *consydering* the nature of pryneys, ye, *and* the nature of man as hyt ys indede, affyrme a myxte state to be of al other the best *and* most comenyent to *conserue* the hole out of tyranny. For when any one *parte* hath ful authoryte, yf that *parte* chaunce to be 100 corrupt wyth affectys, as oft we se in euery other state hyt dothe, the rest schal suffur the tyranny therof, *and* be put in grete mysery. For the *avoydyng

do not usurp an authority which certain statutes allow, under the pretence of majesty.

The wisest men think a mixed government best of all.

[* Page 35.]

The authority of the prince must be moderated.

(4.) But now by what mean thys may be downe partely I haue schowyd in the cure of the hede *and* of 112 the frenecy therof; *and* the rest now we schal joyne in hys place. Our old aunecturys, the instytutarys of our lawys *and* ordur of our reame, *consydering* wel thys same tyranny, *and* for the avoydyng of the same,

Our ancestors appointed a Constable of England

as a counterpoise
to the prince;

ordeynyd a Connestabul of Englund, to *conturpayse* the
authoryte of the prynce *and* *tempur* the same; gynyng
hym authoryte to cal a parlyament in such case as the
prynce wold run into any tyranny of hys owne heddy
jugement. But forbycause thys offyce semyd to the

122 prynce ouer-hye, to haue any one man wyth such
authoryte, *and* so often tyme was cause of sedycyon
and debate, in so much that the prynceys of our tyme
haue thys offyce vturly suppressyd; therfor, for the
avoydying of al such occasyon of any dangerouse sedy-

but now the
office is sup-
pressed,

127 cyon betwyx the prynceys of our reame *and* hys
nobylyte, me semyth much more conuenient, as I haue
showyd before, to gyue thys authoryte vnto dyuerse,
and not to one; euen lyke as the authoryte of the
prynce may not rest in hym alone, but in hym, as the
hede, joynyd to hys counsel, as to the body. After the
same forme, the Connestabul schold be hede of thys
other conseyl, wych schold represent the hole body of
the pepul without parlyament *and* commyn counseyl
geddryd of the reame. *Concernyng thys one poynt

it would be better
to give the
authority to
several than to
one,

allowing the
Constable to be
the chief.

[* Page 36.1]

137 chelyfely :—that ys to say, to see vnto the lyberty of the
hole body of the reame, *and* to resyst al tyranny wych
by any maner may grow upon the hole commynalty,
and so to cal parlyament of the hole when so euer they
see any peryl of the losse of the lyberty. Thys counseyl

Their duties to
preserve the
liberties of all.

142 I wold haue, as I touchyd befor, of the Constabul as
hede, of the Lord Marschal, Stuard, *and* Chamburleyn
of Englund, wyth iiij of the chefe jugys, iiij cytyzjns
of London, *and* ij byschoppys, London *and* Cantor-
bury. Thys conseyl schold euer be occasyon to redresse
147 the affectys of the prynce to the ordur of the law,
justyce, *and* equitye, in case be that he by any mean
schold corrupt hys counseyl appoyntyd to hym by the
same authoryte. For thys may in no case be com-

¹ About half way down the margin of this page, the author
has written the words, "the thryd poynt of," but they seem to
have no meaning.

myttyd to the arbytryment of the prynce to chose hys owne conseyll; for that were al one *and* to commytte al to hys affectys, lyberty, *and* rule. Thys therfor schold be the second thyng *perteynyng* to thys conseyll *and* as a lytyl *parlyament*:—to electe *and* chose euer such men as they schold juge mete to be about a prynce, *and* to be veray conseyllarys of the commyn welthe, *and* not to be corrupte by feare or affectyon. Thys conseyll I wold haue to be of x personys: ij doctorys lernyd in dyuynyte, *and* ij in the law cyuyle, *and* ij of the commyn law—of the wych, ij I wold schold be appoyntyd to receyue complayntys made to the kyng *and* to refere that same to the hole conseyll, *and* one of them to be of the cyuyle *and* another of the commyn law—and iiij of the nobylite, expert *and* wyse men in materys of pollycy. *And* by thys counseyll al thyngys *perteynyng* to the pryncely state schold be gounernyd *and* rulyd; of the wych the kyng schold be hede *and* presydent euer when he myght or wold be among them. By them al byschoprykys *and* al hye offyce of dygnyte schold be dystribut. The rest the kyng schold dyspose, of hys owne *propur* lyberty, wher hyt schold plese hym. *And* so by thys counseyll the chefe mater *and* cause of al sedyeyon schold be take *away out of our cuntrey; that ys to say, the *inequalyte* of dystributyon of the commyn offyceys of authoryte *and* dygnyte. For thys ys eydent *and* playn, that the chefe cause of sedyeyon rysyth therof. For wher vertue ys not rewardyd worthyly, then hyt rebellyth sturdily; then rysyth dysdayne *and* hate; then spryngyth enuy *and* malyce. Wherfor, when men be regardyng accordyng to theyr dygnyte, the occasyon most chefe of al sedyeyon schalbe take away vndowtydly. Thys conseyll, therfor, schold be a grete *and* a wondurful stay of the pryncely state *and* stablyschyng of the true commyn

The king not to choose his own council:

153

it should consist of ten persons,

160

165

with the king as President when among them.

171

Thus all sedition would be done [* Page 36*.¹] away.

176

Where virtue is not rewarded, it rebels.

181

This council would be a stay of the princely state.

¹ Two pages bear this number.

- 186 wele that we so much haue spoken of before. Wherfor, not wythout a cause I wold thys to be chosen by the hole *parlyament*, *and* afturward euer supplyd by the electyon of thys counseyl, wych I sayd schold represent the hole state *commynly*. And thys schold be
- 191 the second poynt of theyr authoryte. The thryd schold be thys:—that the materys of peace *and* warre, debatyd by the other *conseyl and* propur of the prynce, schold euer be confyrmyd by them *and* authorysyd by theyr consent. Al other thyngys *perteynyng* to the
- 196 kyng *and* pryncely powar, as I sayd befor, to heng only apou the authoryte of hym *and* hys *conseyl* joinyd to hym. By thys mean, *Master Lvpset*, we schold avoyd easely al daunger of tyranny; by thys mean we schold avoyd the sedycyon that ys to be fearyd of the electyon of the prynce yf he were not admyttyd by successyon of blode. Or els, bycause that maner hath byn vsyd many yerys, *and* takyth away much occasyon of sedycyon, as you thynke, I wyl not stykke wyth you in that, so that you wyl graunte me agayn hys powar, aftur the maner before rehersyd, somewhat to be tem-
- 202 pryd *and* brought in ordur.

Matters of peace and war debated in the king's council must be confirmed by this council of the parliament.

Thus we should avoid tyranny and sedition.

5. *Lvpset*.—Yes, *Sir*, that I must nede graunt, except I wold admyt playn tyranny, wych wyl not agre wyth our *communycatyon* before had. *But, on the other *parte*, I wold not yet haue hym chose by electyon, but let that powar rest in the auntyent famylys, or els hyt can not be chose but that we schold haue oft

214 cyuyle warre *and* sedycyon. For euery man wold study to attayne therto, *and* so al schold fal into a *confusyon*.

[* Page 37.]
L. would have the prince chosen by the old families.

6. *Pole*.—Nay, *Mastur Lvpset*, I can not tel you that; yf hyt were restraynyd, as I haue sayd befor, ther wold not be so grete ambycyon therof as ther ys now. For as in Venyce ys no grete ambyceyouse desyre to be ther Duke, because he ys restreynyd to gud ordur *and*

P. says there is no great ambition in Venice, nor would there be with us if our king's power were restrained.

polytyke, so wyth vs, also, schold be of our kyng, yf 222
 hys powar were *temperyd* aftur the maner before de-
 serybyd. Wheras now euery man desyryth hyt by-
 cause he may make hymselfe *and* al hys frendys for Now every man
desires the office
for selfish ends.
 euer ryeh; he may subdue hys enemys at hys plesure;
 al ys at hys *commandement and* wyl. *And* thys hathe
 mouyd cyuyle war in tyme past, notwythstondyng thys 228
 ordynance of successyon. But we wyl not entur no
 ferther in dysputacyon now, for as much as I remembyr
 we haue resonnyd upon thys mater before, *and* playnly
 concludyd the best way, yf men wold lyfe in cyuyle
 lyfe togyddur, to haue a prynce by fre electyon *and*
 chosyng hym among other of the best. But for by-
 cause we are barbarouse *and* rulyd by affectys, for the
 avoydyng of gretur yl wych wold come among barbar- 236
 ouse myndys, therfor, in the second place, *and* not as
 the best, we thought hyt conuenyent, as you say, now to
 take hym by successyon, but *temperyng* hys powar, as
 hyt ys before sayd.

7. *Lvpset*.—Thys ys vndowtydly troth. The powar In all this L.
concurs, and
says if this re-
straint were
established, all
disorders would
be cured.
 of the prynce wold, aftur such faseyon, be restreynyd
and brought to ordur; *and*, aftur my mynd, hyt ys the
 chefe grounde *and* pryncypal of al thys true commyn
 wele, wherof we now speke, *consyderyng* the nature of
 man as hyt ys, wych ys more *commynly* rulyd by
 affectys then by reson. Wherfor, yf thys ground were
 stablyschyd, *and* surely set, the cure of al other mys- 248
 ordurys wych we notyd before wold by *and* by folow
and easely insue.

8. *Pole*.—That ys troth, Master *Lvpset*, wythout P. says, True;
 fayle, as we schal see in our processe more playn. For
 as physycyonys say, when they haue remouyd the chefe
 cause of the malady *and* dysease in the body, by lytyl
and by lytyl then * Nature hyrselfe curyth the patyent;
 euen so now in our purpos, thys faute that we haue be- physicians say,
when they have
removed the
cause of the
malady,
[* Page 38.]
Nature cures the
patient.

¹ In margin of MS.

Another fault is
in the bringing
up of the nobility.

257 fore spoken of, wych was *and* ys the cause of many other,
onys *per*faityly curyd, schal mynystur vnto vs the most
comuenient mean for to procede to the cure of the rest.

Among the wych, as I remembyr, was ther notyd the
faute of bryngyng vp of the noblylte, wych, for the
most parte, are nuryschyd wyt[h]out cure, bothe of
theyr parentys being alyfe, *and* much wers of them in

264 whose ward *commynly* they dow fal aftur theyr deth ;
the wych care for nothyng but only to spoyle theyr
pupyllys *and* wardys, or els to mary them aftur theyr
plesure, wherby the true loue of matrymony was *and* ys
vturly take away *and* destroyd ; to the wych, as euery

269 man knowyth, succede infynyte myserys *and* mysordurys
of lyfe. Wherfore thys thyng must be remedyd, yf we
wyl procede to our end *and* purpos. *And*, fyrst, as *con*-
cernyng the wardys ; of thys we must begyn al our old

Wardys.¹
Our custums
relating to wards
must be
abrogated,

and those who
have care of
wards must be
made to render
accounts,

barbarouse custumys vtterly to abrogate, wythout re-
specte of the begynnyng in therof, though they appere
neuer so gud. And euer they wych haue the noblylte
in ward must be bounden to make a rekenyng *and* count
before a juge appoyntyd therto, not only of al hys
intrate, *rentys*, *and* reuenewys, but much more of the

279 orderyng *and* instytutyon of hys ward both in *vertue*
and lernyng. But here ys, Mastur Lvpset, not only
in our cuntrey, but also in al other wych euer yet I
knew, a gret lake *and* neelygence of them wych rule in
commyn pollycy ; *and* that ys thys :—that in no cuntre

284 ther ys any regard of the bryngyng vp of vtle in *com*-
myn dysceplyne *and* publyke excereyse. But euery man
prynatly in hys owne house hathe hys mastar to instructe
hys chyldur in letturys, wythout any respecte of other
excereyse in other featys *per*teynyng to noblylte no les
then lernyng *and* letturys, as in al featys of chyualry.
Therfor ther wold be some ordynance deuysyd for the
joyunyng of thes bothe *togyddur, wych mygh[t] be

Educatyon.¹

and to bring up
their wards not
only exercised
in letters, but in
feats of arms.

[* Page 29.]

¹ In margin of MS.

downe aftur this maner, lykewyse as we haue in our 292
 Vnyuersytes, collegys, *and* commyn placys to nuryse
 the chyldur of pore men in letturys; wherby, as you
 see, commyth no smal profyt to the commyn wele.

(8.) So much more we schold haue, as hyt were, *Public schools*
should be
established,
and the nobles
compelled to
send their chil-
dren to them,
 certayn placys appoyntyd for the bryngyng vp togyddur
 of the nobylyte, to the wych I wold the nobullys schold
 be compellyd to set forward theyr chyldur *and* heyrys,
 that in a nombur togyddur they myght the bettur pro-
 fyt. And to this cumpany I wold haue appoyntyd 301
 rularys certayn of the most vertuse *and* wyse men of the
 reame, the wych schold instruct this vthe to whomeschold
 come the gouernance aftur of this our commyn wele.¹

Here they schold be instructe, not only in vertue *and* lern- *to be instructed*
 yng, but also in al featys of warre perteynyng to such *in learning and*
 as schold be hereaftur in tyme of warr captaynys *and* *feats of war.*
 gouernourys of the commyn sorte. This schold be the 308

most nobul instytutyon that euer was yet deuysyd in
 any commyn wele. Of this surely schold spryng the
 fountayn of al cyuylte *and* polytyke rule; ye, *and*
 wythout such a thyng, I can not tel whether al the rest
 of our deuysse wyl lytyl awayle. I thynk hyt wyl neuer 313
 be possybul to instytute our commyn wele wythout this
 ordynance brough[t] to passe *and* put in effect.² Our

old fatherys haue byn lyberal in byldyng grete abbeyes *Abbeys have done*
much good;
and monasterys for the exerceyse of a monastycal lyfe
 among relygyouse men, wych hath downe much gud to 318

the vertuese lyuyng of Chrystyan myndys; whose ex-
 ampul I wold that we schold now folow in byldyng
 placys for the instytutyon of the nobylyte, or els in
 chaungyng *some of thes to that vse, bycause ther be
 change some of
 these to institu-
 tions for the sons
 of nobles.
 [* Page 40.]

¹ To this vse turne both Westmester *and* Saynt Albony, *and*
 many other.

² Prebendys schold be premia to yong gentylmen, maryd
and lernyd in scripture; by this mean scripture schold be more
 communyd then hyt ys.

The above sentences are written in the margin. No refer-
 ence mark is supplied to denote where they should be placed.

323 ouer-many of thys sort now in our days ; that, euen lyke
as thes monkys *and* relygyouse men ther luyng to-
gyddur, exereyse a *certain* monastycal dyseyplyne *and*
lyfe, so they nobyllys, beyng brought vp togyddur,
schold lerne ther the dyseyplyne of the *commyn* wele.

The nobles think
they were born
to spend what
their ancestors
provided.

You see now how they nobullys thynke themselfe borne
only to tryumphe *and* spend such landys, the wych
theyr anceturys haue prouydyd for them, in theyr vayne
plesurys *and* pastymys. They neuer loke to other end

332 and purpos. But here I wold haue them in thys dyseyp-
lyne, fyrst, to take hede *and* dylygently to lerne what
they be, *and* what place the[y] occupy in the *commyn*
wele, *and* what ys the offyce *and* duty perteynyng to
the same. Here they schold lerne how and aftur
what maner they myght be abul *and* mete to dow
and put in exereyse that thyng wych perteynyth

Here they should
learn all which
pertains to their
office,

339 to theyr offyce *and* authoryte ; *and* so playnly *and* fully
to be instructe in the admynstratyon of justyce both
publyke *and* pryuate. *And*, as I sayd, at voyd tymys
also conuenyent to the same, they schold vse to exereyse
themselfys in featys of the body *and* chyualry, no lesse

344 expedyent for tyme of warr then the other exereyses be
for tyme of peace. *And* thys they schold be worthy of
the name wych we now vnworthilygyue vnto them *com-
mynly* ; then they schold be nobullys in dede ; then they
schold be true lordys *and* masturys ; then they pepul
wold be glad to be gouernyd by them, when they *per-
ceyuyd* so playnly that they regardyd the wele of them

and become
nobles indeed,
and the people
would be glad
to be governed
by them.

351 no lesse then theyr owne pryuatly. But, Mastur Lvp-
set, the partycular mean of bryngyng thys mater to passe
requyryth, as I sayd before, a hole boke. Hyt ys enough
for vs now to schow *and* touch the maner *and* mean in
general.

L. confesses it
would be a noble
institution,

9. *Lvpset*.—Syr, thys schold be a nobul instytutyon,
and to such a prynce as schold be in a true *commyn*

358 wele esy to bryng to passe, or to any such rularys as

intend a veray true cyuyle lyfe. *I pray God we may lyfe to se some men of authoryte bend to put thys in effecte. Thys schold bryng forth in few yerys, I trow, Plato's *commyn* wele, or els, rather, the true instytutyon of Chrystyan doctryne; so that ther schold be wyse men among thys vthe to instytute them in the summe of Chrystys Gospel.

[* Page 41.]
and hopes we
may live to see it.

They should be
instructed in
Christ's Gospel.

10. *Pole*.—Yes, Mastur *Lvpset*,¹ that ys to be vnderstonde; that ys the hede dyscyplyne *and* publyke that I spake of befor; in the wych, I thynke, in few yerys, as you say, they schold more profyt to the *commynyng* of Chrystyn charyte *and* the veray Gospel of Chryst, then our monkys haue downe in grete processe of tyme in theyr solytary lyfe, wych hath brough[t] forth, wyth lytyl profyt to the publyke state, much supersteyon. Thys vthe, as sterrys, schold lyght in al partys of the reame hereafter, *and* they schold put in effect that thyng wych thes solytary men dreame of in theyr cornarys.

P. says that is
understood, and
is the head dis-
cipline of all;

it would do more
than the monkish
life which has
been the cause of
much supersti-
tion.

11. *Lvpset*.—Vndowtydly such an instytutyon schold wel remedy thys mater of the wardys, *and* bryng in a contrary fame into our cuntry. For as we be now infamyd therwyth, so we schold be then of al other most praysyd; *and* not only for the wardys *and* gud ordur of them, but for the hole educatyon of nobylyte, wych ys in al plaecys, as you sayd, more neccete then of the nobyllys theyr hankys *and* theyr houndys, of whose educatyon they haue grete cure.

L. This care of
wards would
bring us great
praise;

as for the nobles,
they think much
of their hawks
and hounds.

12. *Pole*.—Syr, you say truth; *and* speecially wyth vs, wher gentylmen study more to bryng vp gud houndys then wyse heyrys. But now let vs go forward, *and* you schal see how, yf thes ij thyngys wych we haue spoken of—that ys, the takyng away of al occasyon of tyranny *and* ordeynyng of gud hedys, *and* now thys gud educatyon of the nobylyte—had place *and* effecte, that the remedies of al other mysordurys schold, as I haue oft

True, says P.;
they study more
to bring up good
hounds than
wise heirs.

¹ MS. *Le*.

- 394 sayd, shortly he found *and* put in effect, as al other
 [* Page 42.] mysordurys of our lawys before notyd. As, fyrst, *re-
 Appeal to London must be abolished, Appellatyon.¹ mounyng of causys by wryte from schyre townys to
 London, wych we notyd a grete abuse, *and* not wythout
 a cause ; for by that mean euery man of powar vexyth
 hys aduersary wythout cause, *and* when he knowyth
 400 ryght wel hys mater ys vniuste. Thys thyng, I thynke,
 schold be remedyd by *and* by, wythout fether payne or
 punnyschment appoyntyd therto, yf the nobylte *and*
 The duty of the nobility is chiefly to see justice done, and to keep men in unity. gentylmen of eueryschyre wold consydr theyr offyce *and*
 duty therin ; wych ys chefely to see justyce among theyr
 405 *seruantys and* subiectys, *and* to kepe them in vnyte *and*
concorde. Wherfor thys must be ordeynyd :—that no
 cause be remouyd by wryte to London, but such only as
 they gentylmen of the scyre, by the reson of the dyffy-
 culty of the mater, can not decyde ; or els for some other
 resonabul cause to be prouyd before them. And at
 London the jugysschold admyt non in sute, but such only
 412 as, forsomeresonabul cause, were remytttyd to them by the
 gentylmen of the scyre, wych haue authoryte therin
 in the sessyonys *and* sysys at scyre townys appoyntyd.
And moreouer they partys both schold be sworne upon
 a boke that wyth gud opynyon of justyce they persue
 417 *and* defende euer theyr ryght, for the avoydyng of al
 calumnyouse contentyon *and* wylful vexatyon of theyr
 aduersarys. And besyde thys, the party condemnid by
 the authoryte of the hys jugys, schold euer be awardyde
 to pay costys *and* al other dammage cumyng to hys ad-
 uersary by the reson of the vniust sute *and* vexatyon.
 423 And so by thys mean, that ys, partely by the wysdome
and gud prouysyon of the gentylmen *and* of the nobylte
 [* Page 43.] *rulyng in the cuntrey, *and* partely by feare of thys
 payne, both of *periury and* of the paying also of costys
and dammage, the controuersys of the commyns in euery
 schyre schold easelyar be pacyfyd *and* the commyn

Thus contro-
 versies would
 easily be set at
 rest,

¹ In margin of MS.

quyetnes much ineresyd ; the wych, *Master Lvpset*, now
 ys much trowblyd by contentyous myndys *and* froward
 wyttys, not only of the *partys* themselfys, but also,
 much more, by the auaryeyouse myndys *and* couetouse 432
 of the *proktorys and* attorneys, wych *commynly* regard
 more theyr owne lucr then the justyce of theyr clyentys
 cause. Werfor the same othe that ys mynstryd to
 the clyent hymselfe schold be gyuen also to hys proktor
 or aduocate, and also punnyschement, not only of *per-*
iury, but also of promotyng vniuste causys, wold be
 joynyd therto. The punnyschement schold be aftur thys
 sort : bycause he for hys lucr deludyth bothe *partys* 440
and prolongyth the controuersy by hys crafty wytt, when
 so euer hyt myght be manyfestely prouyd, *and* hys
 conetouse mynd openly declaryd, he schold pay the
 costys *and* dammage to both the *partys*, as wel to the
 aduersary of hys clyent, wych by hys craft was long de-
 fraudyd of hys ryght, as to hys owne clyent, wych by 446
 hys dyssymulatyon *and* fare wordys was interteynyd in
 long sute. Thys ordynance, I thynke, wold helpe much
 to the setting forth of the justyce of causys ; thys schold
 cause the attorneys *and* prokturys to refrayne from theyr
 crafty inuentyonys ; the wych ys the ground *and* the 451
 veray chefe key of the longe sute of causys in the Court
 at Westmonastere, wych we notyd *and* obseruyd con-
 sequently for a nother grete faute *and* mysordur.

Advocates who
prolong contro-
versies to be
punished,

by paying costs
and damages to
both parties to a
suit.

13. * *Lvpset*.—The couetouse myndys of the mynys-
 turyys of the law ys, wythout dowte, a gret *parte* cause
 of thes long sutys, wych, I thynk, schold be well re-
 dressyd yf thys payne were set apou them before pre-
 serybyd ; speccially yf you joynyd to thys some prouysyon
 concernyng the multytude of them. For of them are 460
 ouer-many, though ther be among them ouer-few gud.
 Therfor, yf hyt were ordeynyd that only such whose ver-
 tue *and* honesty *and* gud lernyng in the law were by

[* Page 44.]
L. has no doubt
that the covetous-
ness of the
lawyers is the
cause of long
suits,
Advocatys.¹

and he would only
admit the virtuous
and honest to
practise ;

¹ In margin of MS.

464 many yerys prouyd, schold be admyttyd to practyse in
 causys ; *and* such as loke not for al theyr lyuynge of theyr
 and they should
 be men of means.
 clyentys, but gentylmen, wych haue other lande, offyce,
 or fee, suffyeyently to maynteyn themselfys wythal,
 then I thynke ther wold not be so grete robbery vsyd of

469 them as ther ys now, *and* the sutys schold not be so
 long interteynyd. How be hyt, you, as I remembyr,
 But is there not
 another cause of
 these long suits ?
 notyd a nother ground of thys long sutys before, *and* that
 ther was also faute in the veray ordur of the law. Dyd
 you not so ?

P. answers yes ; 14. *Pole*.—Yes, *Master Lvpset*, that ys troth, *and*
 that ys the fountayn *and* cause of the hole mater ; the
 wych cause (as we haue downe in some other mys-

477 ordurys before rehersyd) we must study to take away,
 yf we wyl vturly remedy thys faute of vs touchyd,
 our law is
 confused ;
Master Lvpset. Thys ys no dowte but that our law
and ordur therof ys ouer-confuse. Hyt ys infynyte,
and wythout ordur or end. Ther ys no stabyl grounde

482 therin, nor sure stay ; but euery one that can coloure reson
 makyth a stope to the best law that ys before tyme de-
 uysyd. The suttlylty of one sergeant schal enerte *and* de-
 the subtlety of
 one overthrows
 the judgment of
 many.
 destroy al the jugementys of many wyse men before tyme
 receuyd. Ther ys no stabyl ground in our commyn

487 law to leyne vnto. The jugementys of yerys be infynyte
and ful of much controuersy ; *and*, besyde that, of smal
 authorityte. The jugys are not bounden, as I vnderstond,
 to folow them as a rule, but aftur theyr owne lyberty,
 Judges are not
 bound to follow
 the laws.

[* Page 45.]

they haue authorityte to iuge, accordyng as they are *in-
 structyd by the sergeantys, *and* as the cyrcumstance of
 the cause doth them moue. *And* thys makyth iuge-
 494 mentys *and* processe of our law to be wythout end *and*
 infynyte ; thys causyth sutys to be long in decysyon.

To remedy this,
 we should follow
 the example of
 Justinian,

Therfor, to remedy thys mater groundly, hyt were
 necessary, in our law, to vse the same remedy that
 Justynyan dyd in the law of the Romaynys, to bryng
 499 thys infynyte processe to certayn endys, to cut away

thys long lawys, *and*, by the wysdome of some poly-
 tyke *and* wyse men, instytute a few *and* bettur lawys
and ordynanceys. The statutys of kyngys, also, be ouer-
 many, euen as the *constytutyonys* of the emperorys
 were. Werfor I wold wysch that al thes lawys schold
 be brought into some smal nombur, *and* to be wryten
 also in our mother tong, or els put into the Latyn, to
 cause them that study the cyuyle law of our reame,
 fyrst to begyn of the Latyn tong, wherin they myght 508
 also afturward lerne many thyngys to helpe thys pro-
 fessyon. Thys ys one thyng necessary to the educatyon
 of the nobylyte, the wych only I wold schold be ad-
 myttyd to the study of thys law. Then they myght
 study also the lawys of the Romaynys, where they 513
 schold see al causys *and* controuersys decydyd by rulys
 more conuenient to the ordur of nature then they be in
 thys barbarouse tong *and* Old French, wych now *seruyth*
 to no purpos els. Thys, Mastur Lypset, ys a grete
 blote in our pollycy, to see al our law *and* commyn
 dysceplyne wryten in thys barbarouse langage, wych, 519
 aftur when the youth hath lernyd, *seruyth* them to no
 purpos at al; *and*, besyde that, to say the truth, many
 of the lawys themselfys be also barbarouse *and* tyran-
 nycal, as you haue before hard. Werfor, yf we wyl
 euer bryng in true cyuylte into our cuntrey by gud 524
 pollycy, I thynke we must abrogate of thos lawys veray
 many; the wych ys the only remedy to cure such fautys
 as we found before in pryuate successyon **and* intayl-
 yng of landys in euery mean house. For as hyt ys in
 pryneys housys *and* lordys conuenient that the eldyst
 sone schold, as chefe hede of the famyly, euer succede
 (alway prouysyon had for the yongur also) so hyt ys
 playnly agayne nature in mean famylys *commynly*;
and, as we sayd *and* scho[w]yd at large before, occasyon
 of much hurte, as many other barbarouse custumys *and*
 ordynance be, of the wych we spake of before; the 535

who instituted
 but few laws and
 ordinances.

The statutes of
 kings also are too
 many.

The laws want
 to be made few
 in number, and
 written in Eng-
 lish or Latin,

not in this bar-
 barous tongue,
 Old French.

Besides which,
 many of the laws
 are barbarous and
 tyrannical,

and must be
 abrogated.

[* Page 46.]

Primogeniture
 conuenient for
 the few.

All the faults
spoken of might
be remedied by
adopting the
Roman civil Law

- wych al by thys one remedy schold be amendyd *and*
correct, yf we myght induce the hedys of our cuntrey
to admyt the same : that ys, to receyue the cyuyle law
of the Romaynys, the wych ys now the *commyn* law
540 almost of al Chrystyan natyonys. The wych thyng
vndowtydly schold be occasyon of infynyte gudnes in
the ordur of our reame, the wych I coud schow you many-
festely, but the thyng hyt selfe ys so open *and* playn,
that hyt nedyth no declaratyon at al ; for who ys so
545 blynd that seth not the grete schame to our natyon, the
grete infamy *and* rote that remeynyth in vs, to be
gouernyd by the lawys gyuen to vs of such a barbarouse
natyon as the Normannys be? Who ys so fer from
rayson that consyderyth not the tyrannycal *and* bar-
barouse instytutyonys, infynyte ways left here among
vs, whych al schold be wypt away by the receyuyng of
thys wych we cal the veray cyuyle law ; wych ys vn-
553 dowydly the most aunceynt *and* nobyl monument of
the Romaynys prudence *and* pollycey, the wych be so
wryte wyth such graunte, that yf Nature schold hyr-
selfe prescrybe partycular meanys wherby mankynd
schold obserue hyr lawys, I thynke sche wold admyt
558 the same ; specyally, yf they were, by a lytyl more
wysedome, brought to a lytyl bettur ordur *and* frame,
wych myght be sone downe *and* put in effect. *And* so
thier aftur that, yf the noblyte were brought vp in
thys lawys, *vndowtydly our cuntrey wold schortly be
restoryd to as gud cyuylte as ther ys in any other
natyon ; ye, *and*, perauenture, much bettur also. For
though thes lawys wych I haue so praysyd be *commyn*
566 among them, yet, bycause the noblyte ther *commynly*
dothe not exerceyse them in the studys therof, they
be al applyd to lecur *and* gayne, bycause the popular
men wych are borne in pouerty only doth exerceyse
them for the most parte, wych ys a grete ruine of al
571 gud ordur *and* cyuylte. Wherfor, Master Lvpset, yf

in the place of
the laws given
by barbarous
Normans.
Our tyrannical
and barbarous
institutions must
be wiped away.

If the nobility
were brought up
[* Page 47.]
in better laws,
our country
would soon be
improved.

we myght bryng thys ij thyngys to effecte—that ys to say, to haue the cyuyle law of the Romainys to be the commyn law here of Englonde with vs; *and*, secondary, that the nobylite in theyr youth schold study commynly therin—I thynk we schold not nede to seke *partycular* remedys for such mysordurys as we haue notyd before; for surely thys same publyke dyseplyne schold redresse them lyghtly; ye, and many other now, the wych we spake not yet of at al.

The two things required are, (1) to adopt the Civil Law of the Romans for our Common Law; (2) to cause the nobility to study the laws.

578

15. *Lvpset*.—*Sir*, I hold wel wyth you in thys behalfe. Thys were a commyn remedy, yf hyt myght be brough[t] to passe. How be hyt, seyng that so many yerys we haue byn gouernyd by our owne law, I thynke hyt schold be veray hard to bryng thys to effect.

L. thinks it would be hard to bring this to effect.

584

16. *Pole*.—Nay, nay, *Master Lvpset*, cysyar then you thynke of. The gudnes of a prynce wold bryng thys to passe quykly; for the law of hytselfe were easyar to lerne then ys ourys in the French tong. Wherfor ther lakkyth no thyng but authoryte to put hyt in effecte; the wych I pray God we may onys see, *and* some occasyon therof onys for to take. But the mean tyme, *Master Lvpset*, bycause you thynke hyt ys so hard, let vs procede to the second remedy, that ys, to correct *partycularly* the fautys wych we notyd in the ordur before *and* pollycy. **And* as touchyng the successyon *and* intaylyng of landys, ther must nedys be prouysyon; *and* aftur thys maner me thynke hyt wold dow wel: that yongur bretherne schold haue a certayn portyon deputyd out of the hole inherytance, other by the wyl of the father, or els, yf he dyd intestate, by an offyce[r] appoyntyd therto; for hyt ys agayn reson *and* the ordur of nature that the eldyst brother schold haue al, *and* the rest non at al, as we haue resonnyd before.

P. answers, a good prince would soon bring it about,

590

it only requires authority.

He proceeds to discuss the succession to, and entailing of, lands.

[* Page 48.]

598

Younger sons should have a portion of the inheritance.

604

The entailing of lands should be abolished,

And as touchyng the intaylyng of landys, surely thys band wold be broke, wych now puttyth the heyrys out

and the father
have liberty to
disinherit the son
for just cause.

608 of al feare *and* drede of theyr parentys ; and much
bettur hyt were that they schold stond apon theyr
behauyour, *and* that, wythout they ordryd themselfys
wel, hyt myght be at the lyberty of the father to dys-
heryte hys sone yf he wold, proveyng hys cause before
a juge ; for wythout cause hyt were not mete that the
614 father schold dysheryte hys chyld.

L. answers that
this was a Roman
ordynance.

17. **Lepset.**¹—*Sir*, thys was the ordynance of the
Romanys, as I remembyr. Wherfor, as you sayd be-
fore, a compendyouse way for the amending of al were to
procure the ordur of the cyuyle [law] here in our cuntrey,
wych schold be a grete *conseruatyon* of the true cyuyle
620 lyfe *and* just pollycy.

18. **Pole.**—Ther ys no fayle but yf hyt myght be,
that were the best way, as we haue before agred. But
yf hyt wyl not be vnyuersally receyuyd so quykly, yet
let vs study to commyn hyt the mean tyme as much
625 as we may in the partycular materys *and* correctyon
therof.

19. **Lvpset.**—*Sir*, you say wel ; *and*, therfor, goforthe ;
for as *concernyng* priuate successyon, intaylyng of landys
629 *and* long sutys of the law, you haue sayd metely wel.

[CHAPTER III.]

L. asks what of
theft and
treason ?

P. Remove the
cause, and you'll
[* Page 49.]
soon find the
remedy.
Theft.²

1. [**Lupset.**]—But now for theft *and* treson, what
wyl you say ?

2. **Pole.**—Fyrst (as in the other spoken of before)
remoue the cause, *and* schortly *you schal fynd remedy.
The cause of theft, chefe *and* pryneypal, spryngyth of
the idul route wych we notyd before, *and* of yl educa-
tyon of youth. Wherfor, thos ij thyngys correctyd be-
8 fore, the cause of thys grete faute schold wythall be re-

¹ MS. Lep.

² In margin of MS.

mouyd; notwystondyng, yf the frailty of man fal 9
 thervnto, *and* speccially to prey theft, as pykyng *and* If a man fall to
 stealyng secretly, I wold thynke hyt gud that the picking and
 felon schold be take *and* put in some commyn worke, stealing,
 as to labour in byldyng the wallys of cytes *and* townys, take him and put
 or els in some other magnyfycal work of the prynce of 14 him to work;
 the reame, wych payne schold be more greuse to them this would be
 then deth ys reputyd; *and* so by theyr lyfe yet the more grievous
 commyn welth schold take some profyt. For, as we than death,
 resonyd before, dethe ys ouer-strayte punnyschment which is a
 for al such theft pryuely commyttyd; but robbery by severe for such
 the hye ways, wyth murdur *and* mansloughtur, wold theft; but high-
 be, as hyt ys, justely wyth most cruel deth punnyschyd. way robbers and
 And in lyke maner treson, wych ys the gretyst faute murderers must
 that may be agayn the ordur of the commyn wele. suffer death;
 How be hyt, thys semyth ouer-hard to punnysch the 24 and so must
 chyld for the fatherys offence, being nothyng prey nor treason be
 consentyng therto. Wherfor, in such case reyson punished.
 quyryth a poreyon of hys godys to remayne to hys Treson.¹
 hayre. And lyke wyse he that bryngyth not probabul
 argument *and* grete lykelyhood, wyche takyth apou 29
 hym the accusatyon in treson, schold be punnyschyd
 wyth the same punnyschement; for hyt ys no smal
 mater to accuse a man of. But yf tyranny were taken
 away, as we haue declaryd before, you schold neuer
 haue occasyon of treson; for tyranny ys the mother of 34
 treson. Therfor surely thys ys a gospel word:—take
 away tyranny, *and* you schal haue lytyl occasyon of
 treson. Take away
 tyranny, and you
 shall have little
 treason.

3. *Lvpset*.—Sir, as you sayd, dowltes the correct-
 yng of that faute amedyth, *consequently*, infynyte
 *other. I thynke ther be but few fantys in our com-
 myn wele but they may be resoluyd to that pryncypal,
 or els to the yl educatyon *and* instructyon of the
 noblyte.

l. thinks most
 faults may be
 attributed to that,
 or to the ill educa-
 [* Page 50.]
 tion of the
 nobility.

¹ In margin of MS.

Plato in his Commonwealth laboured to instruct his governors,

because good rulers are "lively laws,"

and a good prince will soon remedy all things;

without one, all counsel is void.

Let us now go to the correction of the faults of the spirituality.

Pope.¹

[* Page 51.]

Cardinals ought to be elected, not made by money.

4. *Pole*.—Hyt ys not for nought be you assumyd that the most wyse phylosopher Plato, in hys *commyn* wel that he deuysyth, laburyth so much to instructe the
 47 offycerys *and* gouernarys therof. He puttyth to them in hys cyte non other lawys; he jugyth that gud rularys euer be lyfely lawys. Therfor be you assuryd that yf the pollycy be not spottyd wyth some spyce of tyranny, treson you schal see non. Therfor, a gud prynce in a *commyn* welth set, as I oft reherse, schal schortly bryng in the remedy of al other thyngys, the wych thyng
 54 makyth me breuely here to passe such thyngys as els had nede of much delyberatyon *and* counseyl. How be hyt, wythout that thyng, al conseyll ys voyd *and* neuer can take place; wythout that ther ys no gud ordynance can be stablyschyd nor grondyd; *and* wyth
 59 thys al thyng perteynyng to the cyuyle lyfe schold some be redressyd *and* brought to gud ordur; of the wych I thynke now, *Master Lvpset*, we haue here suffycently spoken, at the lest, of al such thyng as we notyd before in yesturday's *communycatyon*. Wherfor now let vs go, fynally, to the correctyon of such thyngys as we notyd in the *spiritualty*; *and* as we dyd in the *temporal parte*, so in thys let vs begyn of the hede, wher-
 67 in we may apply some remedies.
- (4.) For as the prynce by prerogatyue *and* pryuylege brekyth the ordur of the lawys *and* the knot of al cyuylte, so doth the Pope *and* hede of the Church, vsurpyng authoryte of dyspensatyon apon al *the lawys by general
 72 counseyl decreed, wythout *communying* wyth hys counseyl of Cardynallys wych are appoyntyd, ye, *and* schold be electyd, *and* not made by the fre wyl of the Pope by money as they be now—for thys purpos only, that ys to say, that in such causys of appellatyon as perteyne to the welth of Crystundome, or of any controuersy in any natyon
 78 therof, that they schold, haunyng the authoryte of the

¹ In margin of MS.

general conseyll, accordyng to the law redresse such con- 79
trouersys, *and* by equitye *and* ryght defyne the same.

Wheras, as now, contrary to the instytutyon *and* fyrst
ordur, the Pope, by hys *propur* authoryte, vsurpyng a
certayn clokyd tyranny vnder the pretext of relygyon,
defynyth al, *and* dyspensyth wyth al at his owne
lyberty. Wherfor I wold wysch in no case that we 85

The Pope usurps
authority,

under the pretext
of religion.

schold hang apon such a hede so much as we dow. I
wold not yet but we schold take hym as hede of the
Chrystun Church, seing that authoryte ys gyuen to hym
by general counseyll; but I wold we schold in our
reame gyue so much to hys authoryte, leynyng therto 90

as to the iugement of God. Wherfor an ordynance
must be had, that ther be no cause sewyd out of the
reame, except causys of seysme in the fayth wych per-
teyn to the dyssolutyon of the vnyon of the Catholyke
and Chrystyan fayth. Such causys we schold reserue 95

An ordinance
must be had that
no cause be sued
out of the realm,
except schism.

to hym as hed appoyntyd by *commyn* authoryte; *and*
as for al other controuersys, I wold they schold be de-
fynynd at home in our owne cuntre. For thys hath byn
a grete dystrectyon to our reame, wyth the mayntenyn-
g of thys holy powar vnder *pretense* of relygyon. Thys 100

hath byn one of the gretyst ruynys that euer hath come
to the reame of Englund, as I coulde, by many storys,
both old *and* of late days, playnly declare. But thys
ys to no *man vnknowen. I wyl therof cesse. Wher-
for I wold that we schold in no case medyl wyth that

This has been a
great ruin to
England,

[* Page 52.]
as is well known.

authoryte, but only in such case as I sayd before, wych 106
tend to open heresy. *And* so for the recognysance of

thys superyoryte, I wold that our reame schold pay
thys Peter pens, releysyng thes annatys, wych ys
euer chargebul to our reame, except of the Archebys-
choppys, whome I wold schold be instytute by the
Pope, but electyd at home, *and* of them haue a certayne;
but al other byschoppys schold be instytute by the
Archbyschoppys here in our owne cuntre, *and* schold

Our realm should
pay its Peter
pence.

Archbishops
instituted by the
Pope, but elected
at home;

but bishops
should be insti-
tuted by the

Archbishops, and have no need to go to Rome.

not haue nede to run to Rome for theyr instytutyon *and* authoryte, as they haue downe many a yere, payyng therfor the fyrst frutys of theyr bunfyceys, the wych we obseruyd as a grete mysordur. For by thys we mayntenyd the pompe of the Pope, gyuyng to hym that wych schold be dystributyd among the pore men of the dyocese here in our owne natyon.

L. asks what's the difference between sending first-fruits to Rome, and spending them on whores at home?

5. *Lvpset*.—Sir, you say wel; but, I pray you, tel me one thyng that I schal ax of you here. What dyfferens ys in thys mater to send the fyrst frutys to Rome *and* spend hyt in tryumphe here at home among whorys *and* harlatys *and* idul lubburys seruyng to the

127 same purpos in our owne natyon?

P. goes on to note a fault in bishops and abbots.

6. *Pole*.—Dyfferens ther ys; for yet thys hyt ys spent at home in our owne cuntrey. How be hyt, *Master Lvpset*, here you touch a nother grete faute wych we notyd also before in our byschoppys *and* abbotys, wych tryumphe no lesse then the temporal lordys, the

133 wych thyng, *Master Lvpset*, we must also now in hys place *tempur and* amend. *And*, breuely to say, I wold no thyng in thys mater but only prouysyon that the ordur of the *commyn* law of the Church myght haue place; that ys to say, that byschoppys schold dyuyde theyr possessyonys in iiij partys to the vse appoyntyd by the authoryte of the law: the fyrst to byld churchys *and* tempullys ruynate in theyr dyocesys; the second to maynteyne *the pore youth in study; the thryd to the pore maydys *and* other pouerty; *and* the ferth to fynd hymselfe *and* hys household wyth a mean nombur conuenient to hys dygnyte. Other prouysyon then thys

145 nedyth not at al, sauyng that I wold haue them to be resydent apou theyr sees, except such as were necessary aboute the prynce. And as touchyng abbottys *and* pryorys in our cuntrey, I wold non other but only the ordur of the monkys of Italy; that ys to say, that euery iij yere

150 to chose theyr abbotys *and* pryorys, *and* ther to gyue

Bishops ought to divide their possessions into 4 parts:
1. To build churches;
2. to maintain poor youths in study; [* Page 53.]
3. to maintain poor maids;
4. to support themselves.

They should be resident.
Abbots and priors should be chosen every 3 years;

rekenyng of theyr offyceys *commynly*, *and* to lyue among
 hys bretherne, *and* not to tryumph in theyr chamburys
 as they dow; wych causyth al the enuy in the cloysturys, and should live
among their
brethren. 153
and ys the occasyon of the grete spens of the intrat of
 the monastery; for to hys tabul resortyth the idul
 company dwellyng about hym. Thys maner surely
 schold be a grete reformatyon in the monasterys of
 Englund. But, as I haue sayd many tymys before, the 158
 partycular mean of thys *and* of other must be deuysyd
and put in effecte by such as schal haue authoryte to
 reforme the same. Hyt ys enough for vs now to schow
 in general, *and* lay *commyn* groundys to the fyndyng of
 the rest. 163

(6.) Aftur thys maner, *Master Lvpset*, consyderyng
 that they wych haue grete possessyonys wyl not of
 theyr fre wyl lyberally spend them accordyng to reson,
 hyt were veray conuenyent, by ordur of law, to *constrayne*
 them therto; for when men priuatly abuse theyr owne
 godys to the hurte [of] the *commyn* wele *and* ordur 169
 of the same, hyt ys then mete that the mater schold be
 had in *consyderatyon* of them wych bere rule in *com-*
mun authorityte. Wherfor the old Romanys made a law
 agayn prodygalyte, *constraynyng* men to frugalyte, wych
 ys to a *commyn* wele the ground of al other vertues.
 Therfor, lyke ordynance as ys determyd to byschoppys, 175
 wold be *proportionably* apon other inferyor dygnytes
 of the Church; for as *much as they are only dyspens-
 aterys of the godys of the Church. Therfor, me semyth
 thys were wel, that euen lyke as by ordur of law the pore
 men are bounden to pay theyr tythys to theyr curate, so
 lyke wyse, they wych are *parsonys and* curatys schold
 be bounden to dystribut that wych they haue superfluose
 among the pouerty of theyr *parreysch*; *and* so they schold
 also be *constreynyd* to be resydent apon theyr bunfyceys,
 ther to preche *and* tech the Gospel of Chryste, *and* see
 the dystributyon of theyr godys themselfys; except 186

There should be
 some power to
 regulate the
 expenses of these
 who have great
 possessions.

The Romans con-
 strained men to
 frugality.

[* Page 54.]

As poor men are
 compelled to pay
 their tithes,
 so parsons should
 be bound to give
 to the poor, and
 to live in their
 parishes,

except a few in
cathedral
churches.

hyt were certayn aboute the prynce *and* also certayn in cathedral churchys, wych I wold not haue to be resydent wyth such an idul *company* as they dow now, but to be,

190 as hyt were, conseyllarys to the byschope, men of grete lernyng *and* vertue, helpyng to set ordur in al the rest of hys dyocese; *and* obseruyng wyth al dylygence that the rest of inferyor prestys dyd theyre offyce *and* duty, *and* to se that non schold be admyttyd but such as in al

None ought to be
admitted priests
under 30 years
of age,

195 poyntys were mete for theyr offyce, both of lernyng *and* wysdom conuenient to the same. For the wych I wold thynke veray conuenient non schold be made prestys vnder xxx yere of age, wych had spend theyr vthe vertuesly in letturys, *and* not in huntynge nor haukyng *and* such

200 other idul pastymys. The same ordynance also I wold schold be obseruyd in admytting of al other relygyouse personys of what ordur so euer they be, non vnder xxx yere of age. For thys admytting of frayle vthe wythout conuenient profe of theyr vertue *and* lernyng, ys the *ground *and* mother of al mysordur in the Church *and* relygyon, as you may se, Master Lypset, in euery

and after proof
of virtue.

[* Page 55.]

207 place. Of thys fountayn spryngyth al the sklandur of the Church by mysbehauyour. Wherfor, yf thys hole were stoppyd, surely the gretyst cause of al fautys in the Church of Chryst schold be taken away wythal, the wych remedyd, schold be a grete occasion of the remedy

212 of the hole body; for as much as they commyn pepul loke chiefely to the lyfe of prelatys *and* prestys, takyng theyr exampl of the ordur of theyr lyfe. Wherfor,

Thus the greatest
cause of faults
would be re-
moved.

Master Lypset, as we dyd schow a general mean of the bryngyng vp of nobilyte wych schold be in the temporalty, rularys, *and* hedys, so now a lytyl we must touch

218 the bryngyng vp of the vthe determyd to the spirituality *and* exerceyse therein. *And*, breuely to say, for as much as the Latyn tong *and* the Greke be the ground of lernyng, in the study wherof they must spend theyr vthe, ther must be certayn *and* gud scolys instytute wyth

He would have
schools instituted,

prudent masters *and* wel lernyd to instructe thys cum- 223

pany. Hyt were no thyng amys to put ij or iij of thes
smal scolys of x^{li} a yere togydur *and* make one gud,
wyth an excellent mastur, *and* in euery towne let the
prestys instructe them *and* make them somewhat mete
to hys handys; *and* then, aftur they had byn brough[t]

and thinks it
would be better
to put several
small schools to-
gether to make
one good one.

vp in lernyng a wyle, such as he schold juge mete 228

wyttys, wyth other lernynd men appoyntyd to the juge-
ment therof, schold then be send to vnyuersytes, ther
to be instructe in the lyberal scyence, *and* so to be made
precharys of the doctryne of Chryst.

From such
schools those who
were found meet
should go to the
universities.

233

(6.) But here, aboue al thyng, the scolemastur must
study no les to bryng vp thys vthe no les in vertue then
in lernyng; for loke, how they be custumyd in vthe, so
aftur the[y] folow the trade other of vyce or of vertue.
Therfor ther must be as much regard of the one as of 238

the other. *For the lernyng wythout vertue ys perny-
couse *and* pestylent. The same ordur must be take in

[* Page 56.]
Learning without
virtue is per-
nicious.

vnyuersytes, that thos sedys wych are plantyd by the
scolemastur may bryng forthe some gud *and* perfayt

frute. But thys thyng in studys *and* vnyuersytes ys
neclectyd *and* despysyd, as hyt ys in grammer-scolys.

Virtue in the
universities and
grammar schools
is neglected.

Wherfor ther must be reformatyon for that, as in theyr
maner of studys wych are confusyd, *and* by the reson 246

of that, we haue few grete lernyd men in our cuntrey.

The ordur of studys in vnyuersytes must, breuely, be
amendyd, or els al letturys *and* lernyng wyl fayle. How,

The order of
study in the
universities
wants amending,

and by what mean, I had though[t] before here for to
schow; but now, euen as hyt was in the educatyon of the

but the subject
is too long to
discuss.

nobylyte, so hyt ys in thys, ouer-long partycularly to
declare. Eche one of thes ij materys requyre a hole boke,

and, besyde thys, ther be wyse *and* lernyd men wych 254

haue wryte in the same mater, whose counseyl I wold
to God we myght fulfyl. Among thes, of late days the

The Bishop of
Carpenteras has
written an ex-
cellent book, and
our prince should

Byschope of Carpenteras, one of the wysyst men of our
tyme, hath put forth a boke. Hyt schalbe now our

put his counsel
into effect.

duty only to persuade our prynee to put thys same hys
conseyll in vse *and* effecte, the wych downe, I dowte not

261 but that we schold haue such prestys in our cuntrey as
are requyryd to thys our commyn wele before deuysyd.

[* Page 61.1]

*And thys, *Master Lypset*, I thynke we haue schowyd
in general the mean to correct the errorys before of vs
obseruyd *and* notyd, except you remembyr any other.

266 7. *Lypset*.²—*Sir*, one thyng among other I remem-
byr you haue not yet spoken of, *and* that ys thys : you
haue not supplyd the lake of certayn offycerys wych
semyd to lake in our cuntrey.

L. asks about
certain officers
which we lack in
this country.

8. *Pole*.—*Master Lypset*,² you say veray truth.

271 How be hyt, in thys mater ther ys no grete lake ; for yf
euery offyee dyd hys duty appoyntyd by the ordur of
our cuntrey, I thynke you schold schortly agre therto.

And, *Syr*, an offyee for that same purpos me seme
lakkyth aboue al other ; for, albehyt that hyt semyth

276 to perteyn to the offyce of the prynee in general, yet
to the partycular cure therof, I wold some man schold
be appoyntyd in euery grete cyte *and* towne, the wych
schold haue non other cure nor charge but to se that
al other offycerys dylygently dyd execute theyr offyce
and duty.

P. would have
in every great
city an officer to
see that all other
officers did their
duty.

9. *Lupset*.—You say veray wel. Thys offyce was
the thyng that chefely *conseruyd* the state of Rome,
and was among the Romaynys of hye authoryte. They

285 callyd them Censorys, as you wold say, jugys of the
manerys of al other ; in lyke wyse, wyth vs, as you say,
such an offyce surely schold *conserue* the hole state mer-
nelously. Wherfor I wold haue them to be callyd *con-*
seruatorys of the commyn wele ; and lyke as thes *con-*

290 *seruatorys* schold haue cure of al other offycerys to
the intent that they myght wyth more dylygence dow
theyr duty, so I wold, in euery cyte, haue other also ap-
poyntyd, who schold haue *regard of such thyng as

L. says this
censor conserved
Rome, and was of
high authority.

He would have
another to see
[* Page 62.]
after the orna-

¹ See note on p. 215.

² MS. Le:

perteynyth to the ornamentys of the cyte, *and* to the helth of the same, wych as in Rome were callyd Ediles, as you wold say, gouernowrys of templys *and* housys, so wyth vs they schold be callyd ouersearys of the cyte. 297

Of thes ij offyceys we haue grete lake: one to se to the pollycy pryneypally, *and* another to ouer-se such thyngys as perteyne to the helth, welth, *and* ornamentys of the cytes *and* townys; vnder whose authoryte *and* iurysdycyon al other vnder offycerys schold be, wych haue *partycular* cure of certayn thyngys perteynyng to the same. I wold haue no offyceer of cyte nor towne to be exempt from theyr authoryte, but as they mygh[t], apou lawful profys of neelygence of euery one, put them out of theyr offyce *and* dygnyte; the wych thyng schold cause al vnder offycerys, *partely* for feare *and* *partely* for schame, to regard such thyng wyth cure *and* dylygence as perteynyth to them; *and* so, by thys mean, our polytyke body schold be kept in ordur *and* rule, aftur the maner wych we haue before deuysyed. 307

10. [Pole.]—So that, *Master Lvpset*, now apou thys poynt let vs conclude *and* make an end of our communitatyon, that yf we myght now fynd the meane to *correct thes general errorys, wych we haue notyd, and specyally by thys gud educatyon of the nobylite *and* of clerkys, of whome we schold aftur haue they hedys *and* rularys, ther ys no dowte but that we schold other haue a veray true commyn wele before descrybyd, or els, at the lest, one that schold most nere of al other approach thervnto. For by thys mean we schold haue a multytud of pepul conuenyent to the place, floryschyng wyth al abundance of exteryor thyngys requyryd to the bodyly welth of man; the wych, lyuyng togyddur in eyuyle lyfe, gouernyd by polytyke ordur *and* rule, schold conspyre togyddur in anyte *and* loue, euery one glad to helpe a nother to hys powar, to the intent that the hole myght attayn to that perfectyon wych ys determyd to the dygnyte of mannys

ments of the city,
and its health.

Other officers to
be under him.

No officer of a city
or town should
be exempt from
their jurisdiction.

[* Page 57.]

By good education of our nobles and clergy, we should have a true commonwealth, or a near approach to it:—

a multitude of
people;
abundance of
necessaries;

love one to
another;

and perfection.

330 nature, by the gudnes of God ; the wych ys the end of
al lawys *and* ordur, for wych¹ purpos they be wryt
and ordeynyd. How say you, Master Lvpset, thynk
you not thys ?

L. agrees in this
conclusion,

11. **Lvpset.**—*Sir*, thys ys a *certayn* truthe that you
say *and* conclud now, at the last, aftur our long communy-
336 cation, that, yf we cond put in effect such ordynance as
you haue deuysyd, we schold haue other a true *commyn*
wele, or, at the lest, some lykelyhod therof, to the wych
al lawys be ordeynyd *and* deuysyd ; but whether yet al
thes ordynance, ye, or al the powar of law, be abul to
bryng man to thys perfectyon, I somewhat dowte. For

but doubts the
ability of the law
to bring man to
this perfect con-
dition.

342 as much as the perfectyon of man stondyth in reson *and*
vertue, by the wych he both knowyth that wych ys
truth *and* gud, *and* also hath wyl, stabyl *and* constant
purpos, to folow the same, not compellyd by feare of any
payne or punyschement, nor yet by any plesure or pro-
347 fyt alluryd therto ; but only of hys fre wyl *and* lyberty,
wyth prudent knolege *and* perfayt loue mouyd, he euer
applyth *hys mynd to such thyng as schal bryng hym to
hys perfectyon ; and to thys me thynke no law ys suf-
fycient. Wherfor, except we fynd some other mean
wherby man may come to thys hys perfectyon, al our
communycation, me thynke, ys voyd, *and* al law wyth-
out effecte.

[* Page 58.]

Except we
find some other
means, all this
communication
is void.

355 12. **Pole.**—Mastur Lvpset, you entur now into a
grete mater, the wych, yf you remembyr, we touchyd
before. But now here in hys place, bycause you bryng
hyt agayn in remembrance, therof hyt schalbe no hurt
to make a lytyl more mentyon. Mastur Lvpset, though
hyt be so that the law of hyt selfe be not abul to bryng
man to hys perfectyon, nor gyue hym perfayt reson *and*
vertue wythal, yet, for as much as hyt ys a mean to
bryng man therto, hyt ys not vtturly to be despysyd.
For, as Sayn Poule sayth dymely, hyt ys the pedagoge

P. confesses the
laws cannot make
man perfect,

but it is a means
to this end, and
not to be de-
spised.

¹ MS. thys wych.

of Chryst; that ys to say, hyt preparyth mannys mynd 365
to the receyuyng of vertue by profyt *and* plesure, payne
and punnyschement; hyt dysposyth man some thyng to
the way of vertue; ye, *and* as man ys of nature formyd Man is naturally
rude and without
perfect know-
ledge.
rude *and* wythout perpayt knolege, hyt ys necessary to
haue the instytutyon therof, wythout the wych al cyuyle
ordur wold dekey, wherof hyt ys the bande *and* sure 371
grounde, as we haue at large declaryd befor. And yet
thys ys trothe, as you say, hyt ys not suffyceint to bryng
man to his perfectyon, but to that ys requyryd a nother
more celestyal remedy, the wych our Master Chryste
cam to set *and* stablysch in the hartys of Hys electe 376
pepul. He cam to make perpayt man, *and* supply the de-
fecte of the law, by Hys *celestyal *and* dyuine doctryne;
and thys ys the thyng, Mastur Lvpset, that I perceyue
you requyre. Thys ys the thyng wythout the wych al
our communycatyon ys voyd *and* of lytyl or no effect.
Wherfor now remaynyth, aftur that we haue schowyd 382
somewhat how by mannys prudence certayn fautys *and*
mysordurys in the cyuyle ordur, wych ys the mean to
bryng man to hys perfectyon, as you see, may be reme-
dyd *and* redressyd; now I say we must study for the
mean to stablysch thys celestyal doctryne, wych our 387
Master Cryste hath left here to conducte al Chrystyan
myndys to theyr perfectyon.

13. *Lvpset*.—Syr, thys ys the thyng that I dyd re-
quyre in veray dede; but to bryng thys to passe, to
stablysch thys doctryne, hyt ys not the worke of man—
hyt ys only the worke of God. Therfor in thys poynt
how we schal behaue ourselfys I can not tell. 394

14. *Pole*.—Sir, as touchyng that, you schal schortly
here my mynd therin. Fyrst, thys ys troth, that thys
thyng ys the worke of God; hyt ys He that must bryng
thys mater to effect, or els al mannys labur ys spent in
vayne, notwythstondyng the prouysyon of God hath or-
deynyd thys, that man schal haue nothyng that ys gud,
God has ordained
that man shall
have nothing per-

Christ only can
supply the law's
[* Page 59.]
defects;
and it is this
which L. re-
quires.

L. says yes;
but this is the
work of God.

fect without
labour.

nethyng *perfayt*, wythout hys owne labur, dylygence,
and cure—

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Virtutem posuere dii labore parandam.

No man ean
attain honours
without diligence.

Thys you may see in al thyngys wych *pertheyne* to the *per-*
fectyon of man ; for who ys he that can attayne that we
may begyn of wordly thyngys, other ryches or honowre,
except he wyth gret dylygence apply hys mynd therto ?
Who can kepe hys body in helth, except he put dylygente

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cure therto ? Who can attayne to any excellency in any
maner of art or craft, ye, or come to any hye phylosophy,
except he wyth much cure, labur, *and* dylygence exerceyse
hym selfe in the studys therof ? Vndowtydly, no man.

[* Page 60.]

This heavenly
doctrine is only
given to such as
purge their
minds from
worldly affec-
tions ;

* Wherfor much more, wythoute lyke dylygence *and*
labur, ther ys no way to attayne thys celestyal doctryne,
wych ys not inspyryd into neelygent hartys, but only
to such as, by grete study, haue purgyd ther myndys
from al wordly affectys ; *and* so, wyth *perfayt* fayth
and sure trust, loke for such thyng as God hath pro-

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mysyd to al them wych, al wordly thyngys set apart,
desyre *continually* celestyal. Therfor, be you assuryd,
that euen as thys celestyal doctryne far excellyth *and*
passyth al other, so hyt requyryth more dylygence, more
cure, more ardour, affecte, *and* desyre of mynd, then any
other. *And* though hyt be heuenly *and* commyth only
of God, *and* may not be by the powar of man, yet hyt
ys neuer gyuen to idul *and* slepyng myndys, nor to such

it comes from
God, and is never
given to idle
minds.

427

as haue no cure nor regard therof, no more then hyt ys
to them wych by theyr owne natural powar, thynke
themselves abul to optayne *and* deserue such precyouse
gyfte. Wherfor, al be hyt that hyt ys as you say, to
stablsch thys doctryne in any commyn wele, the only
worke of God *and* not of man, yet thys ys not amys to
schow somewhat the mean how man may dyspose hym-
selfe *and* make hymselfe mete to receyue thys heuenly
doctryne ; wherin we must vse other mean then cyuyle

It is proper to
show how man
may make him-
self worthy of
this doctrine.

436

ordynance, wherof we haue spoken of before, the wych,

by feare of pyne *and* desyre of plesure, mouyth the 437
cytyzynes to folow vertue.

(14.) *We must now take another way, *and*, as nere [* Page 63.]
as we may, folow the exampul of our Master Chryst, the Christ used two
wych by no compulsyon instytute Hys law, nor by any means to estab-
drede or fear of anythyng. Two¹ meanys I note He vsyd ^{1 MS. ij.}lish His law,—
in the stablyschyng of Hys law at the fyrst begynnyng;
the wych yf we folow we may, perauentur, stablysch *and* 444
confirme that wych He began, or at the lest schow the
way how hyt schold be downe. They ways were thes:
exampul of lyfe *and* exhortatyon. By thes ij meanys Example of life
Hys dyseypullys dyd stablysch Hys doctryne, as hyt ys and exhortation;
manifest in the Gospel of Chryst *and* story of the Church.
Wherfor, as the restoryng of the cyuyle lyfe stondyth 450
chefely in hedys *and* rularys, as we haue sayd before, in
so much that yf they be gud, al the commynalty wyl
folow the same, so the confyrmyng *and* stablyng of and now it must
thys celestyal doctryne stondyth chefely in the offy- be established
cers therof; that ys to say, in the precharys, in the in the godly
godly lyuyng *and* doctryne of them. We must, therfor, living and doc-
haue ordynance made, that such only may be admyttyd trine of preachers.
to preche w[h]os lyfe *and* doctryne ys many ways prouyd
to be perpayt *and* gud. For now a days the precharys 459
sklaunder the word of God, rather then teche hyt, by
theyr contrary lyfe.

15. *Lvpset*.—Syr, you say truthe. No dowte gud No doubt, says
precharys schold help to set thys forward wondurfully. L., but how shall
But how schold we make *them? Thys ys the handy- we make them?
worke of God; hyt ys not in mannys powar. So al [* Page 64.]
commyth to one poynt; that ys, hyt ys not in our powar 466
to bryng thys mater to passe that we now speke of.

16. *Pole*.—Mastur *Lvpset*, we haue sayd befor, that P. confesses that
man alone can not in dede bryng thys thyng to passe; man cannot do it.
but man may make ordynance that such only as God hath
made met to preach Hys doctryne schold haue authoritye to
exerceyse the same. Thys man may dow, *and* not only 472

473 thys, but ordeyn mean how *man* schal be brough[t] vp
 in conuenient mean mete for the same, as in *commyn*
 studys *and* vnyuersytes, *and* admyt non to that offyce
 but such as theyr are prouyd, both in lyuyng *and* in
 doctryne. But now, to schow the mean how men schold
 478 in that study be brought vp, here ys not [the] place ;
and besyd that, hyt ys wryten in our days of the most
 famuse dyuynne Erasmus, whose conseyl I wold in our
 studys we myght folow, that al such as schold prech the
 doctryne of Chryst schold be instruct wyth such doctryne
and maners as he largely schowyth in hys Tretyse of the
 484 Study of Dyuynyte, *and* now a late in hys Boke of the
 Prechar. Thys myght, by polytyke rularys in our *com-*
myn wele, schortly * be brought to passe *and* put in effect ;
 wherof we must begyn. The gud ordur of studys in the
 vnyuersytes ys the fountayn *and* the ground of making
 thes precharys. Wherfor thes must be redressyd, wych
 490 [be] now so ferr out of ordur, that ther be few men lesse
 met to prech thys celestyal doctryne then thos be wych
 professe the same, in whome ys all arrogancy wyth-
 out meknes, wych ys the ground of thys doctryne ; in
 whome al affectys rule *and* reyne wythout any sparkyl
 495 of reson, as experyence schowyth. But I wyl not now
 stond to schow theyr fantys, nor partycularly schow
 theyr instructyon *and* instytutyon, wych Erasmus, wythe
 grete eloquence *and* wysdome, doth at large. As I sayd,
 we must ordeyne the mean to put hyt in executyon,
 500 wych ys, breuely to say, only thys way,—to cummand
 the hedys in collegys to se the vthe brough[t] vp aftur
 such fascyon as he descrybyth, *and* other wyse men of
 our tyme, as the Byschope of Carpenteras, *and* other of
 that sorte. *And* thys vndowtydly, wythin few yerys, we
 schold see precharys of thys doctryne such as schold
commyn hyt abrode, *and* induce the pepul wyth louyng
 maner to folow the same. How be hyt, as I haue
 508 schowyd breuely how, by exampl of lyfe *and* by gud

Erasmus's advice
 to be followed in
 the instruction of
 preachers.

[* Page 65.]

The universities
 are out of order ;

of them Erasmus
 has written
 largely.

Heds of colleges
 to see the young
 brought up after
 plans described
 by Erasmus and
 others.

exhortatyon of the precharys, thys doctryne must *be
 taught so apon the parte of the pepul ther may be cer- [* Page 66.]
 tayne ordynance made wych may make them mete to 511
 here thys prechyng *and* techyng of theyr masturys *and*
 doctorys. How be hyt, the pryncypal cause lyth in only
 God. He must forme *and* lyght theyr hartys wyth Hys
 grace, or els the prechyng can take lytly effect. But
 the gudnes of God ys such that, al men, what sort so
 euer they be, wych by prayer *and* by humylyte, make 517
 themselfe apte to receyue thys lyght *and* grace, schal be
 by *and* by parte-takers therof. He ys not acceptor
personarum, but, euen as the lyght of the sone schynyth
 in al bryght bodys, wych of theyr nature be clere *and*
 bryght, so dothe thys grace *and* celestyal lyght com-
 muncat hyt selfe, by the gudnes of God, to al hartys 523
and myndys wych wyl, wyth dylygence *and* ardent affect,
 louyngly desyre hyt. But as touchyng the partycular
 maner also how eury man scholde institute hys mynd
 to receyue thys doctryne, Erasmus also, wyth grete wys-
 dome, hathe declaryd in hys boke, wych ys callyd the
 Instructyon of a Chrystun Man. Wherfor, as concern-
 yng thes partycularytes, I schal referre you to the same
 boke, the wych I thynke veray mete to be put into our 531
 mother tong, to the intent that al such as haue letturys
 may be the rather instructe in Chrystun lyfe *and* euan-
 gelical doctryne.

(16.) **And* as for publyke ordynance touchyng thys [* Page 67.]
 thyng, I haue thys only to say, that for as much as thys
 doctryne of Chryst ys the end *and* perfatynes of al law, 537
and the veray lyfe of mannys soule, to the intent that
 hyt myght be the bettur *and* wyth more profyt prechyd,
 I wold hyt were also put into our mother tong, that,
 by the redyng therof ofte-tymys at home, the pepul
 myght at the lest be more abul to comprehend the
 mysterys therof prechyd *and* openyd by the precharys
 of hyt. For thys thyng apperyth meruelouse straunge— 544

It all lies with
 God; He must
 give His grace, or
 preachers will
 have no effect.

God is no acceptor
 of persons.

Erasmus's book
 on the Instruction
 of a Christian
 Man ought to be
 translated into
 English.

The Gospel ought
 also to be given
 to the people in
 their mother
 tongue.

- 545 pepul to haue the lyne of theyr lyfe to be wryte in a
straunge tong, as though the law were wryten to
straungerys, *and* not to them. The law was wryten to
the intent that al men schold know hyt, *and* study to
apply to forme theyr lyfys theraftur. I neuer red in no
550 storys of grettur blyndnes *commynly* approuyd then ys
thys ; for hyt ys thought that the puttyng of our law into
our mother tong schold be the destructyon of relygyon ;
as though the law, yf hyt were knowen, schal make men
to forsake the law, *and* as though the ignorance of the
555 law schold make men to folow the law. Wherfor, seing
that al prechyng ys ordeynyd to thys poynt, to instructe
the pepul in the *law *and* doctryne of Chryst, hyt
must nedys folow that al mean must be approuyd wych
helpe to thys knolege ; *and* so, to put the law of the
560 Gospel into our mother tong were a necessary ordynance.
Moreouer, hyt were conuenient, aftur my mynd, to
make men *commynly* more apte to receyue thys lyght
and grace, to ordeyne al prayerys both pryuatly *and* *com-*
*my*nly in churchys for the pepul rehersyd, to be made
in the vulgare tong, *and* al dyuyne *seruyce* ; the wych
566 thyng schold cause dowteles the pepul bothe wyth
more effecte themselfe to pray, *and* wyth more dyly-
gence herken [to] the storys of the Bybul *commynly*
rehersyd, wych are rehersyd only for thys cause, that
they pepul heryng them, may be the rather sterryd to
571 folow the exampul of the old fatherys *and* holy men,
whose vertuese are celebrate in our tempullys *and*
churchys. For what avaylyth els thys rehersyng of thes
legendys *and* loude syngyng therof now in a straunge
tong as they be rehersyd ? Hyt ys as you wold tel a tale
to a deffe man ; for dyfference ys non, as touchyng the
profytt of the word, betwyx a deffe man *and* hym that
578 vnderstandyth nothyng at al.

(16.) Wherfor, *Master Lypset*, breuely to conclude thys

[* Page 69.]

mater, thys I thynke, that [if] *they *precharys* were in

It is thought this
would be the
destruction of all
religion.

All public and
private prayers
should be in the
vulgar tongue.

To have service
in a strange
tongue is like
telling a tale to
a deaf man.

vnyuersytes wel brough[t] vp in ryght studys, wych, as we sayd, are fer now out [of] frame, *and* therfor wyth al cure *and* dylygence to be reformyd, *and* the Gospell *and* law of Chryst conuertyd wel *and* faythfully into our mother tong, *and* al dyuine seruyce celebrate in the same; then, I thynke, shortly you schold see more frute of the Gospel then we haue. You schold see wythin few yers men wyth loue dow such thyng as now they cannot be brought to by no mannys law; you schold se then both reson *and* vertue in mannys lyfe to haue place; they schold then be the rularys of mannys lyfe, al vayn affectys troden vnder fotte. And so, by thys mean, man, fyrst inducyd by fere of punnyshement *and* payne, *and* by desyre of honest plesure *and* profyt by law preserybyd, schold be inducyd by lytyl *and* lytyl to thys perfectyon, that he for loue only of vertue schold folow vertue, *and* for loue of Chryste, al plesure *and* payne set aparte, schold folow Chryst, *and* then at the last, thys lyuyng in perfayt concord *and* cyuylyte, schold attayne to the euerlastyng lyfe due to the nature of man, ordeynyd to hym by the prouydence of God in immortalte. And thys, Master Lvpset, now breuely you haue hard in thes iij days' communycatyon, what ys a commyn welth, *and* wherin hyt stondyth. What lakkys therof *and* fautys be in our cuntrey, *and* how *and* by what mean, wyth gud prudence **and* pollycy, they myght be correctyd *and* amendyd, as much as may be by mannys powar redressyd, *and* cyuyle ordynance. For, as we haue oftymys before sayd, the chefe poynt therin lyth in God *and* in a gud prynce. Wherfor, Master Lvpset, let vs thys make an end, bycause hyt ys late, except you haue any [thyng] in thys mater further to say.

17. Lvpset.—*Sir*, I haue no thyng to say but only thys. Seyng that al men, as you sayd in the begynnyng of the fyrst day's communycatyon, are bounden as much as they can to ferdur *and* set forward thys same true

If preachers were well brought up,

the Bible faithfully translated, and Divine Service conducted in English, we should see more fruits of the Gospel than we now do.

Thus man would be gradually led towards perfection.

Thus you have heard,
1. What is a commonwealth.
2. What our country lacks thereof.

[* Page 70.]
3. How our faults may be corrected.

L. wishes to say all men are bound to further this commonwealth,

- 617 commyn wele, wych you haue spoken of before, in theyr cuntrey,—I wold that you, wych thys prudently perceyue the fautys therof *and* the mean how they schold be reformyd, schold, wyth al dyligence *and* cure, apply your mynd to the redressyng of the same, seyng that we
- 622 haue new such a prynce as ys to be desyryd; wych nothyng els desyryth, day nor nyght, but to stablysche thys commyn wele among hys subiectys in thys our natyon. Wherfor, *Master Pole*, I wold in no case you schold let thys occasyon slype; lest, as I sayd at the begynnyng of our communycatyon, men justely schold accuse you
- 628 as ingrate to your owne cuntrey.

and exhorts P.
not to let this
occasion slip,
lest men call him
an ingrate.

[* Page 71.]

P. says he shall
be ready when his
Prince calls him—
till then he
“tarries his
time.”

18. *Pole*.—Wel, *Master Lvpset*, as touchyng thys, be you assuryd, for my parte, I wyl neuer be slake in thys behalfe; but when so euer hyt schal *plese the prynce to cal me to thys purpos, I schal wyth the same mynd be redy to thys as to lyue, for the wych I lyue, *and* wythout the wych I wot not why I schold lyue. But in thys, *Master Lvpset*, I must tary my tyme.
- 636 19. *Lvpset*.—Thys taryng of tyme, *Master Pole*, ys the destructyon of al. You may not tary tyl you be callyd, but put your selfe forth, at the lest to schow the desyre that you haue to serue your prynce *and* to helpe your cuntrey.

L. says he must
put himself
forward.

- 641 20. *Pole*.—Why, *Master Lvpset*, wold you haue me now to spot my lyfe wyth such ambyceyon? Nay, I wyl not dow so, but, as I sayd, I wyl tary my tyme.

Nay, says P.,
I will tarry.

L. urges that it is
virtue, not
ambition, to
desire office that
one may do good.

21. *Lvpset*.—Nay, but in thys me thynke you are deceyuyd, to cal thys affect ambyceyon, wych ys then only to be imputyd when men desyre honowere to theyr owne plesure or profyt; but when men desyre to bere
- 648 offyce *and* to rule, to the intent they may stablysch *and* set in theyr cuntre thys commyn wele, wych you before haue deseryhyd, hyt ys the hy[c]st vertue that ys in any nobul stomake, *and* ys a certayn argument of true nobylte; for sluggysch myndys lyue in cornarys *and*

Sluggish minds
live in corners,

content themselfys wyth pryuate lyfe. Wheras veray 653
 nobul hartys euer desyre to gouerne *and* rule, to the
 commyn wele of the hole multytude.

noble hearts
 desire to govern.

22. *Pole.*—Wel, Master Lypset, I perceyue wether
 you go. You wold haue me to schow my mynd in thes
 other grete questyonys, wether a wyse man ought to
 desyre to handul materys of the commyn wele, or tary
 tyl he be callyd; *and* also what ys veray true nobylte,
 the wych you say so mouyth man to set forward al gud 661
and iust pollycey; the wych thyng at another tyme I wyl
 not refuse. But now, bycause hyt ys late, *and* perteynyth
 not gretely to our purpos, I wyl dyffer hyt tyl more
 conuenyent lesur; *and* the mean tyme, of thys be you
 assuryd, in me you schal fynd no faut nor neelygence; 666
 but that I schal euer, as oceasyon mouyth me, be redy
 to dow seruyce to my prynce *and* cuntrey, to Goddys
 honowre *and* glory, to whose gouernance *and* prouy-
 dence, the mean tyme, we schal commyt al; *and* thus
 make an end of our communycatyon. 671

P. says at another
 time he will give
 his mind
 whether a man
 ought to tarry till
 he be called, and
 what is true
 nobility.

It is late now,
 and not much to
 our purpose,

but I shall ever
 be ready to do
 service for my
 Prince.

[FINIS.]

[Note to p. 201. Starkey had written as far as the end of page 60 of the MS. when he remembered that he had omitted to discuss the necessity of appointing superior officers and their duties. Not having room on page 56 he was compelled to commence on page 61, and go on to the end of page 62. He has made the necessary reference marks.]

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

NOTE.—Many of the words here mentioned occur frequently, but I have thought it unnecessary to give more than one reference except in a few instances. The following abbreviations have been used : B = Bailey's Dict. ; B. B., Babees Boke ; C. L., Castel off Loue ; Gawayne, Sir Gawayne, ed. Morris ; H., Halliwell's Dict. ; L., Levins's Manipulus ; L. S., Latimer's Sermons ; M. A., Perry's Morte Arthur ; P., Philips's Dict. ; P. C., Pricke of Conscience ; P. P., Promptorium Parvulorum ; R. P., Romans of Parthenay. For the extracts from the Utopia and Latimer I have used Arber's excellent reprints.

1/16 means page 1, line 16.

- A, 123/821, an.
 A, 55/1013, on.
 God uoryaf hys dyap to ham þet
 him dede *a* þe rode.
 Ayenbite, p. 114.
 A, 70/55, of, or on.
 þeos sculde *a* twa haluen ;
 halden to þan uchte.
 Lazamon, iii. 87.
 A, a late, 210/484, of late, lately.
 Abbey-lubbarys, 131/1079.
 Lubber, a mean servant, that
 does all base services in a house ; a
 drudge, a lazy Drone. *P.*
 Abhorre, 21/727, "abhor from," to
 reject or renounce. See *K. H. VII.*
 ii. 4.
 I utterly *abhor*, yea, from my soul
 Refuse you for my judge.
 Adherentys, 77/296, adherents.
 Ænnates, 126/895, Annates.
 Affecte, 29/77, 31/142, affection ;
 property of the mind.
 An *affect*, affection. *L.* 47.
 Affecte, or welwylynge. *P. P.*
 Agayne, 18/612, against.
 Alowyd, 131/1091, permitted,
 granted.
 Als, 11/357, as.
 Altogyddur, 49/790, altogether.
 Alye, 114/488, ally. *Alye*, *affinis*.
 P. P.
 Alyenat, 151/305, alienated.
 Annatys, 126/921, Annates.
 Annexyd, 95/916, annexed, joined
 to.
 Antyquyte, 78/327, antiquity.
 Antiquitie, *vetustas*. *L.* 109.
 Apon, 15/502, upon.
 Arge, 87/642, argue.
 Arryue, 57/1075, arrival.
 Whose forests, hills, and floods then
 long for her *arrive*
 From Lancashire.
 Drayton's Poly. p. 1192, quoted by *H.*

Artyfycerys, 86/623, artificers.

Artys, 123/808, "lyberal artys," liberal arts.

Asper, 134/1174, rough, uneven. *Lat.*

Aunceturys, 84/556, ancestors. God gaue him . . . more then euer anye of hys *auncitours* had. *L. S.* p. 71.

Avaunce, 3/61, advance. *He . . . auunced* hymself ryghte inheritioure to the crowne thereof. *Utopia*, p. 57.

A-worke, 96/955, at work, to work.

Ax, 130/1057, ask.

Basse, 113/470, base, low.

Be, 153/350, bee.

Bend, 105/160, bent, or bound.

Beryng, 113/464, bearing, conduct.

Bestys, 52/894, beasts.

Besyly, 3/67, busily, earnestly.

Besyly with beveryne lokkes.

M. A. 3631.

Besynes, 5/147, business.

Bollen, 152/317, swollen.

The barley was in the ear, and the flax was *bolled*. Exod. ix. 31.

Bolsteryd, 117/599, bolstered, upheld, maintained (by unfair means).

Men haue synnes inough of their owne, althoughc they beare not and *bolster* vp other men in their naughtines. *L. S.* p. 155.

Botte, 4/95, boat.

Brene, 126/911, brief.

Broderly, 109/311, brotherly.

Brokarys, 83/519, brokers.

Brokys, 16/533, brooks.

Bunfyeyal, 13/427, beneficial.

Bunfyceys, 133/1155, benefices.

Bunfyte, 14/481, benefit.

Butful, 98/1023, fruitful. Halliwell says *batful*, meaning fruitful, is used by Drayton. Cp. *batten*, to fatten.

Bylldyd, 9/280, builded.

Byth, 175/1125, buyeth.

Canteryng, 137/1295, to sing in such a manner that the people cannot understand what is sung.

To cant, to talk darkly . . . so as not to be understood by others; to use an affected kind of speech. *P.*

Capitayne, 3/89, captain.

Cardarys, 171/1004, card-players.

Cardyng, 77/287, playing at cards.

As dysynge, and *cardynge*,

And such other playes.

B. B. p. 346.

Ouer night they *carded* for our english mens coates.

Percy, B. ed. *Furnicall*, i. 125.

Cauyllatyonyis, 10/334, cavillations.

Chamlet, 95/911.

Camlet, a sort of stuff made partly of camel's hair, and partly of silk or stuff. *P.*

Chanonyis, 77/295, canons. Chanone, *chanonicus*. *P. P.*

Chepe, gud chepe, 89/725, cheap; bettur chepe, 141/1447, cheaper.

Theyr diligent vse in prouision for graine is notable. For be it deare or *good cheape*, theyr common graner . . . is in maner alwayes furnisshed. *Historye of Italye*, etc., by W. Thomas, ed. 1561, ff. 82. See *P. P.* p. 72, note 2. 'A. Sax. *Ceáp*. 1. A bargain, sale, business. 2. Any thing for sale, a chattel. 3. The price, also cattle, as they were used in barter. *Ceápián*, To bargain, chaffer, trade, to contract for the purchase or sale of a thing, to buy, to cheapen.' *Bosworth*.

Chesyth, 29/71, chooseth.

To-wardez Chartris they *chese*.

M. A. 1619.

Christundome, 88/685, Christendom.

Chyldur, 36/318, children.

Clene, 8/269, quite, altogether, entirely.

Cortaysye is closed so *clene* in hym-selucn.

Gawayne, 1298.

Clokyd, 36/331, concealed.

We should not dissemble nor *cloke* them. *Bk. of Com. Prayer*.

Cogytatyonys, 66/1414, cogitations.

Coleryke, 58/1100, choleric.

Passionate, hasty, apt to be angry, peevish. *P.*

Commyn, 6/175, communicate.

Comoun *communico. P. P.*

Commyn, 10/339, common.

Commynyng, 8/241, communicating.

Commynys, 90/748, commons.

Complexyon, 69/13.

Complexion the natural constitution, or temperature of the body. *P.*

Conceytys, 80/415, conceits.

Conferre, 176/1187.

To confer, to communicate; to collate, give, or bestow. *P.*

Conseyllys, 26/881, counsels.

Consumptyon, 76/248, consumption.

Conteyne, 110/341, contain, keep, restrain.

Conturpayse, 182/117, counterpoise.

Quha will study his wittis, and *conterpace*

The hie planetis.

Qu. Elizabethes Acad. 100/191.

Conuehauns, 93/865, conveyance.

Connehyth, 43/580, conveyeth.

Conuersant, 23/780, conversant.

Cormorants, 118/644, cormorants (used figuratively).

On couetous and vnsatiabie *cor-maraunte* and very plage of his natyue contrey may compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akers. *Utopia*, p. 41.

Cornarys, 189/376, corners.

Coud, 73/144, could.

Count, 186/276, account.

Couplyd, 45/656, joined.

Cumpynable, 13/428, companionable; sociable, friendly.

Companyable, or felawble, or felawly. *Socialis. P. P.*

Cure, 92/825, care.

Curyouse, 80/412, curious; nice, fastidious, dandified.

Custommably, 30/132, by custom, habitually.

Customably, *Consuete. solite. P. P.*

Customyd, 138/1319, accustomed.

Darth, 87/631, dearth.

Debylyte, 72/103, debility.

Defynynd, 118/641, defined, finished.

Defyne, *definire. L.* 139.

Descanteryys, 80/412, composers of music.

Descant, in music signifies the art of composing in several parts. *P.*

Determe, 105/184, determine.

Detrymentys, 93/858, detriments.

Deuysarys, 80/412, devisers, makers, or inventors.

Deuysys, 80/406, devices, contrivances, conceits, or fashions.

Dome, "rayson dome," 103/97?

Dote, 151/299, dowry, marriage portion, or endowment. *Lat. dos.*

Downe, 77/286, done.

Dress, 57/1071, direct.

Men myghte don it wel, that myght ben of power to *dresse* him thereto. *Maundeville*, p. 306 (ed. 1866).

- Drowne, 77/303, drone.
 Drunkerys, 171/1003, drunkards.
 Dyat, 33/232, diet.
 Dyffer, 26/907, defer.
 Dyffynytyon, 11/364, definition.
 Dymely, 206/364, dimly.
 Dymme, or hard to be vndyr-
 stonde. *Misticus. P. P.*
 Dysarys, 171/1004, dice players.
 Dysecyue, 70/64, deceive.
 Dysconuenient, 140/1391, incon-
 venient.
 Dysheryte, 196/614, disinherit.
 Exhereder, to disherit, or disin-
 herit. *Cotgr.*
 Dyssymylyng, 91/787, dissimu-
 lating.
 Dissimulings, *dissemblings. H.*,
 who refers to Chaucer.
 Dysyng, 77/287, playing with
 dice.

 Enerte, 192/484, to render in-
 capable of action; to inert.
 Enyoy, 67/1429, enjoy.
 Escheuyng, 71/70, eschewing.
 Ether, 32/183, easier; A.S. *ēð*,
 easy.
 Sipen god so feire cloþus haþ.
 þat haþ no feir Colour to day,
 And schal to Morwe beo lad a way,
 How muchel more may he ow clepe?
 As hos sciþ, þat may he don eþe.
 Vernon MS. fol. 206 b. col. 3.
 Note. In Starkey's MS. this
 word is written "other."
 Extyme, 14/471, esteem.
 Exystymatyon, 151/287, reputa-
 tion, estimation. Lat. *existimatio*.
 As one rather willing the harm
 or hindraunce of the weale publike
 then any losse or diminution of his
 owne *existimation*. *Utopia*, p. 82.
 Eysyar, 195/587, easier.

 Fach, 173/1074, fetch.
 Facyle, 133/1172, facile.
 Facyon, 106/210, faction. "Fa-
 cyon and partys" = Factions and
 parties.
 Fangulyd, new fangulyd, 80/410,
 newfangled.
 Gape not nor gaze not at euery
 newe fangyle. B. B. p. 341.
 Straunge, or folishelye *new-*
 fangled. Utopia, p. 65.
 Fantasy, 51/860, fancy.
 Fautys, 28/44, faults.
 Fayte, 129/1005.
 Fait, Fr. a fact, deed, or action. *B.*
 Fer, 15/512, far, very.
 Fers, 12/386, fierce.
 Fle, 78/328, fly.
 Fon, 24/815, fond; foolish, tri-
 fling.
 Ande this knyght weddide a fair
 womañ, of the kynrede of Levi, but
 she was *fon*, and biter; and in hir
 house dwelte a serpente of long
 tyme, in his cave. *Gesta Romanorum*,
 ed. Madden, p. 196.
 Forbycause, 42/542, because.
 Forsyth, 19/644, matters, signifies.
 Fortylite, 12/405, fertility.
 Foullys, 78/315, fowls.
 Frank, 53/936, free.
 Frate, 172/1040, freight.
 Freythe of earyage (freyt, freight,
 or cariage). *P. P.*
 Frayle, 57/1064, frail.
 Frenesye, 86/615, frenzy.
 Fruth, 134/1184, fruit.
 Fullarys, 95/914, fullers.
 Fuller, one that fulls, mills, or
 scours cloth. *P.*
 Fundatyon, 37/382, foundation.
 Fustyanys, 95/912, fustians.
 Fustian, a kind of stuff made of
 the down of a certain fruit grow-
 ing in Egypt. *P.*
 Fyne, 98/1047, fine, a payment.

Fyschys, 77/314, fishes.

Gape, 156/472, gap.

A gappe, *vacuum, interuallum*.
L. 26.

Gardying, 80/406. Gard. A facing or trimming. *II.*

Garded, cote. *Laciniatus. L.* 49.

Geddur, 3/60, gather; obtain.
More commonly *gader*.

Swilk men purchases and *gaders*
fast. *P. C.* 1342.

But see *C. L.* 643,—

For hose seje a such *gederyng*.

Godys, 38/408, goods.

Goo, of goo, 88/696, ago.

Gost, 126/926, ghost, spirit, conscience.

Graunte, 194/555, gravity.

Grettur, 90/767, greater.

Groundly, 29/76, firmly.

Gruge, 14/462, grudge.

Gud, 77/305, good.

Gyrdyllys, 94/875, girdles.

Habundaunce, 62/1250, abundance.

Harduos, 27/3, arduous.

Harp, 126/923, to harp upon one string, phrase, meaning to repeat.

Haukyng, 77/287, hawking.

Hauntarys, 154/401, haunters, frequenters. Hawntare, *frequentator. P. P.*

Hauyn, 43/591, haven.

Hayre, 197/28, heir.

Heddy, 182/120, heady, headstrong. Hedyc, *effrenis. L.* 97.
Heady, highminded. 2 Tim. iii. 4.

Henge, 126/923, hang.

Her, 20/682, hear.

Herabul, 96/977, arable. Earable, *arabilis. L.* 2.

A rough valley which is neither eared nor sown. Deut. xxi. 4.

Hethys, 73/148, heaths.

Heyrys, 169/915, heirs.

Hole, 2/22, whole, entire.

Preche
Twyes or pryes in þe ȝere

To þy pareth hole and fere.

Myrc's Instructions, p. 13.

Holly, 137/1292, holy.

Holly, 150/238, wholly.

Ile, 88/695, isle.

Imbecyllyte, 43/571, imbecility.

Impedimentys, 69/21, impediments.

Indeur, 25/850, endeavour, urge forward.

"Endeavour myself," to consider myself in duty bound. *Alford*.

"I do declare that I do hold there lies no obligation upon me . . . to endeavour any change, or alteration of government. *Act of Uniformity*, xiv. Car. II.

Infamyd, 189/379, defamed, made infamous, slandered; Lat. *infamo*.

Whosoever for anye offense be *infamed*, by their cares hange rynges of golde. *Utopia*, p. 100.

Ingrate, 214/628, ungrateful.

Inhabytans, 72/116, inhabitants.

Iniust, 71/67, unjust.

Inserch, 71/91, ensearch, examine.

Inserchyng, 70/50, ensearching, examination.

Insewyth, 19/649, follows, ensues.

Intendying, 74/180, "intending to," tending to.

Intrate, 186/278, } income; Lat.

Intrat, 201/154, } *intro*.

Inuentyon, 116/574, invention, discovery, bringing out.

Inyoy, 79/368, enjoy.

Jaggyng, 80/406, cut, or slashed (applied to garments). Iag, *lucin-*

- are. L.* 10. "Vandyked" is, I think, the word now-a-days.
 Jarryth, 63/1281, jars.
 Jopardy, 43/569, jeopardy, danger.
 Jugyd, 36/346, judged, esteemed.
 Jursdyceyon, 170/971, jurisdiction.
 Knyfys, 94/865, knives.
 Knyte, 58/1095, knit.
 Laburyd, 73/155, laboured, tilled.
 Labour, to cultivate the earth. *II.*
 Laburyd, 92/831, "byn laburyd," have had experience.
 Lake, 72/125, lack.
 Lakkys, 91/774, lacks, hindrances, wants.
 Leegys, 170/951, leagues.
 Legys, 103/106, leagues.
 Lene, 84/529, yield, give, produce.
 Cp. I shal *lene* þe a bowr þat is up in þe heye tour.
 Havelok, 2072, ed. *Skeat*.
 Let, 36/332, hindered.
 Leyser, 1/16, leisure. *Leysere, oportunitas. P. P.*
 Long, 173/1058, belong.
 Lubbur, 139/1370. *See* Abbey-lubbur.
 A lubber, *mediastinus, tardus. L.* 75. *See* *Utopia*, p. 102.
 Lude, 139/1369, lewd.
 Lykyth, 71/99, likes, suits, pleases.
 Lykkun, 83/490, } liken, to
 Lykkynnyd, 83/492, } compare.
 Likenyd, *assimilatus. P. P.*
 To whom will ye *liken* me, and make me equal, and compare me, that we may be like? *Isa.* xvi. 5.
 Lyne, 212/545, lyne of theyr lyfe, the course of their conduct; the guide of their life.
 Lyst, 124/836, like, choose.
 Lyth, 33/209, lieth.
 Lyue, 78/338, life.
 Lvuely, 63/1291, living.
 Lyvely, or qwyk, or fulle of lyyf. *Fivær. P. P.*
 Stif contemnars of gods *lyuelic* wound.
 Lauder's Minor Poems, 4/39.
 Magnyfycal, 176/1185, magnificent, splendid.
 Melancolyk, 58/1099, melancholic.
 Melancholy . . . a disease which proceeds from the overflowing of black choler. *P.*
 Met, 6/186, meet, worthy.
 Metē, or fyt, or eucene. *Equus. P. P.*
 Metely, 122/783, meetly, worthily.
 Mo, 59/1132, }
 Mow, 191/580, } more.
 Mouabul godys, 151/295, moveable goods.
 "The term 'moveable' included not only corn, cattle, and merchandise, but money, fuel, furniture, wearing apparel, &c." *P. M. Gazette*, April 12, 1870.
 Mumbling, 132/1114, repeating inaudibly. To mumble, *murmurare. L.* 188.
 Musys, 144/33, muses.
 Mynyschyng, 52/1133, minishing, diminishing.
 Mysordurys, 69/20, misorders, disorders.
 Mystere, 158/526, mystery. *Mystery*, or *prevyte, Misterium. P. P.*
 Any particular art, trade, or occupation is termed a mystery. *P.*
 Naroly, 23/804, narrowly.
 Necleete, 27/17, neglect.
 Neclygence, 18/615, negligence.
 Nonage, 115/516, the time of being under age. Nonage, *anni pupillares. L.* 11.

- Nother—nor, 38/411, neither—nor.
- Nother — nother, 42/556-8, neither—nor.
- Noyful, 38/415, hurtful. Noyful, *nocuus*. *L.* 185.
- Oldys, 73/148, wolds, holds, open flat country. *Old*, the name of a place in Bedfordshire.
Wold, a down, or champain ground, hilly and void of wood; as Stow in the Wolds, and Cotswold. *P.* See also *Lazamon*, ii. 421, 478.
- On, 33/235, one.
On couctous and vnsatiabie cor-
 maraunte . . . may compasse
 aboute and inclose many thousand
 akers. *Utopia*, p. 41.
- Onys, 186/258, once.
- Oode, 12/386, wood; mad, foolish.
- Optayn, 23/782, obtain.
- Ornat, 178/1229, ornate.
- Ornate, 178/1233, to adorn. The
 word is used by Latimer, according
 to Webster.
- Other—or, 9/270-1, either—or.
- Ouercomyn, 43/574, overcome.
- Ouer-hye, 182/122, over high.
- Ouerlayd, 74/191, overlaid, over-
 stoeked. Ovyr leydn, or oppressyn.
Opprimo. *P. P.*
- Ouerse, 156/450, oversee.
- Parreysch, 201/183, parish.
- Partyes, 2/29, parts, regions.
- Passage, 134/1174. A passage,
exitus. *L.* 11.
- Pastur, 74/191, pasture.
- Pastymys, 77/288, pastimes.
- Pattur, 132/1113.
 To patter and pray, to repeat
 many Pater-Nosters. *B.*
- Paysybly, 56/1024, peaceably.
Cp. *pare es peysebelle ioi ay lastand*.
Pricke of Conscience, 7833.
- Pedagoge, 206/364, pedagogue.
- Perauentur, 19/660, peradventure.
- Percase, 146/111, perchance.
Percase, fortè. *L.* 7.
 Part to you here, where that ye
 shall haue
 Such thing that ye *percas* fele now
 shall. *R. of P.* 5637.
- Perfayt, 20/672, perfect.
- Perfyttyst, 62/1262, perfectest.
- Perys, 106/207, peers.
- Peter pens, 199/109. "Peter
 pence, called also *Rome Scot*, was a
 levy of a penny on every house
 wherein there were 30 pence *vivæ*
pecuniæ, to be collected and sent to
 Rome, one half of it went for alms
 to the English school at Rome, and
 the other half to the pope's use."
B.
- Phlegmatyk, 58/1099.
- Pine, 164/734, pin, or peg (fig.).
 "To hang upon one pin," to depend
 upon one point.
- Placardys, 102/76, proclamations.
Placard, (among the French) a
 table wherein laws, orders, &c., are
 posted, or hung up. *P.*
 All former *Placards* granted by
 the King for shooting . . . shall be
 void. *Statutes*, 14, 15 H. VIII. c.
 7. See also *Ibid.*, 25 H. VIII. c.
 17.
- Pollyng, 127/942, spoiling.
 To poll, pil, *spoliare*. *L.* 160.
 He could not kepe them in awe,
 but onelye by open wronges, by
pollinge and shauinge, and by bring-
 inge them to beggerie. *Utopia*, p.
 62.
- Populos, 74/178, populous.
- Pretense, 67/1445, pretence.
- Pretermyt, 8/244, neglect; to leave
 undone.
- Proportyonabul, 79/351, pro-
 portionable.
- Pykyng, 197/10, picking; pilfer-
 ing.

- The verb to pick, as used by the old writers, has, amongst various significations, that of obtaining anything by mean, underhand proceedings, or pilfering. *P. P.* p. 397, note 1.
- To keep my hands from *picking* and stealing. *Cat. of Ch. of Eng.*
- Pyl, 26/918, to plunder.
- To pil and pol, *depeculari*. *L.* 123.
- I pyll, I robbe. *Pulsgrave*.
- Quoted in the Index of English words, *ib.*
- Pyll*ed and impouderished. *Utopia*, p. 58.
- Pyne, 209/437, pain, punishment.
- Quyke, 171/998, quick, active.
- Quick, *citus, agilis*. *L.* 120.
- Rayne, 73/166, reign.
- Rayson, 194/549, reason.
- Rauynys, 127/941, ravenous.
- Reame, 88/684, realm.
- Rebatyd, 175/1128, abated, lowered in amount.
- Rech, 48/758, reach.
- Rechles, 113/457, reckless, careless.
- The Devil doth thrust them . . . into *wretchlessness* of most unclean living. *Thirty-Nine Art.*, xvii.
- Redunde, 178/4, redound.
- Refrayne, 120/713, refrain, restrain. To refrayne, *refrenare*. *L.* 201.
- Relese, 149/202, relax. Relece, or for-geuenesse, *relaxacio*. *P. P.*
- Reproue, 139/1374, reproof.
- Repugnyng, 14/464, "repugnyng to," repugnant to.
- Resemblyd, 85/571, compared.
- Unto what is the kingdom of God like? and whereunto shall I *resemble* it? *S. Luke*, xiii. 18.
- Reuenewys, 186/278, revenues.
- Reyn, 31/148, reign.
- Rote, 194/546. Rot, applied to the condition of the nation. See note — "tabes in corpore" — on margin of p. 100.
- Rotte, 98/1024. Rot, a disease common among sheep. Rot, or rotyng, *corruptio, putrefaccio*. *P. P.*
- The Rotte, *tabes*. *L.* 176.
- Rotyd, 13/445, rooted.
- Route, 129/1025, a multitude, or throng of people.
- Royalty, 79/355, dignity, strength, magnificence. See *B. B.* 175/858.
- Now haue y shewyd yow, my son, somewhat of dyuerse Iestis þat ar remembrid in lordes courte / þere as all *rialte* restis.
- Rustycyte, 70/62, rusticity.
- Ruynate, 70/39, ruined, in ruins, or reduced to ruins.
- Ryse, 130/1042, risen.
- Sanguyn, 58/1099, sanguine.
- Full, or abounding with blood, being of a complexion, wherein that humour is predominant. *P.*
- Sane, 67/1416, safe.
- Saueguard, 141/1417, safeguard.
- Sayntuary, 140/1410, sanctuary.
- Says, 94/874. Saye clothe, serge. *Pulsgrave*.
- Say, a thin sort of stuff. *P.*
- Scaseness, 47/714, scarceness.
- Cp. More's *Utopia*: Al the resydewe of the woomans bodeye beinge couered with cloothcs, they esteeme her *scasely* be one handebredeth (for they can se no more but her face). p. 124.
- Schrode, 79/357, shrewd.
- Shrewd, *prauus, malignus*. *L.* 49.
- Schypcotys, 72/133, sheep cots.
- Schypmen, 43/576, sailors.
- Scolastycal, 69/17, scholastical.
- Seyre, 190/408, shire. Hu ho sette *scircu*. *Lazamon*, iii. 287.

- Seysme, 199/93, schism.
 Secondary, 195/574, secondly.
 Sellarys, 94/886, cellars.
 Semblably, 46/691, similarly.
 Senyor, 130/1055. Seignior, or Signior (Ital.), Lord, Master. *P.*
 Serch, 50/822, examine, search into.
 Seruytute, 114/496, servitude.
 Skabe, 98/1024, scab, a disease to which sheep are liable. Y° scab of sheepe, *mentigo*. *L. 1.*
 Skant, 74/189, scant, scarce.
 Skase, 87/650, scarce.
 Sklender, 27/6, slender.
 You shal haue but *sc slender* fare, one dish and that is al. *L. S. p. 89.*
 Sklendurnes, 76/248, slenderness, leanness.
 Sklendlurly, 90/738, slenderly.
 Slo, 79/377, slow.
 Slomeryng, 5/135, slumbering.
 And fore slewthe of *slomoure* one a slepe fallis. *M. A. 3222.*
 Slype, 40/484, slip, pass by.
 Slyppyng, 72/113, slipping.
 Smateryng, 17/583, smattering.
 Smellyth, 116/566, savours.
 Solne, 79/379, 384, swollen.
 Sonar, 26/902, sooner.
 Soudiar, 3/89, soldier. A Sodioure, *miles*. *L. 223.*
 Sounderly, 46/689, separately.
 Sounyth, 63/1281, soundeth.
 Sowne, 101/33, "to sowne to" = to sound like.
 Sparkle, 165/771. A little spark, a scintillation. A sparkle, *scintilla*. *L. 32.*
 Sparkul, 12/409, sparkle.
 Sparkylyd, 177/1205, sprinkled, scattered.
 The chyldys clothys, rycle and gode,
 He had *sparkylde* with that blode. *H.*
 Spens, 201/154, expense.
 Spot, 214/642, to spotte, *maculare*. *L. 176.*
 He yat medleth wyth pitch is like to be *spotted* with it. *L. S. p. 151.*
 Spotty, 198/50, spotted; corrupted, disgraced, or tainted.
 Spryte, 144/34, inspiration.
 Sprytual, 122/779, spiritual.
 Spyce, 198/50, spice, a small quantity. The beginning, part, or remains of a distemper. *B.*
 Squeakyth, 109/310, squeaks. The meaning seems to be dangers, or risks.
 Stablyd, 42/534, established.
 Stabul, 67/1449, stable, stablish.
 And *stables* the hert thare it restes. *H.*
 Stabullys, 72/133, stables.
 Stabyl, 99/1077, establish.
 Stapul, 173/1053, staple.
 Staple, a city or town, where merchants joyntly lay up their commodities for the better uttering of them by the great. *P.*
 Stoud, 39/433, stand, consist.
 Story, 209/449, history.
 Stranghth, 10/318, strength. *Cp.*
 The toun . . . extendith in *length* aboute a quarter of a mile. *Leland, It., iii. 39.*
 Strayte, 120/685; strayttur, 120/688, strict, severe.
 Streght, 38/395, correct.
 Studys, 203/243, places of study.
 Styffe, 100/1092, stiff, stubborn.
 Stynt, 175/1128, stint, limit in amount.
 Subrogate, 169/922, to put in the place of another.

- Succur, 144/34, succour, help, aid.
 Sundurly, 6/195, separately.
 And to vehone *sunderlyng*
 He 3af a dole of his fulnesse.
C. L. 290.
 Sustenans, 75/195, sustenance.
 Sustentatyon, 56/1050, sustenance; maintenance.
 Susteyne, 49/786, sustain.
 Sylدون, 85/580, seldom.
 For in him,
 Es *selden* sen any mckenes.
P. C. 260.
 Syngular, 57/1065, singular, individual.
 Sysys, 190/414, assizes.
 Talage, 151/278. A tribute, impost, toll, or tax. *P.*
 Taske, 151/278, labour due to a superior.
 A *task*, *taxatio*. *L.* 35.
 Task, an old British word signifying as much as tribute. *P.*
 Tempur, 120/713, to temper, moderate.
 Tenantys, 72/123, tenants.
 Theft, 79/361. "By them ys nurysehyd the commyn theft," i.e. By them the system of universal robbery is maintained.
 They, 11/351, the.
 Thought, 7/199, though.
 Thynkys, 56/1038, things. This form occurs in Leland's *Itin.* according to H., but a wrong reference is given.
 Thys, 8/254, thus.
 Togydur, 11/353, together.
 Trade, 65/1345; 203/237, path, practice, or course. But see *trade* in Glossary to the Minor Poems of William Lauder, E. E. T. S.
 Translated, 92/833, translated: removed, carried away.
 By turninge, *translatinge*, and remouinge thies markes into other places they may destroye their enemies nauies. *Utopia*, p. 73.
 Tryfullys, 80/415, trifles.
 Tryumphe, 78/319, triumph; pomp, pride, or show.
 Tukkarys, 95/914. tuckers.
 Fullers. *H.*
Tucker, a fuller of cloth. *P.*
 Otercy water is deuidid . . . to serue Grist and *Tukking* Milles.
Leland, It., iii. 55.
 Tyllarys, 49/785, tillers.
 Tyranne, 115/541, tyrant.
 Vncomly, 52/903, uncomely, uncivilized.
 Vnhusty, 79/377, unlusty, weak, powerless.
 Vnsure, 39/440, uncertain. *Vn-*sure, *incertus*. *L.* 83.
 Vnweldy, 79/377, unwieldy
 Vnyte, 54/983, unity.
 Vnyte, 57/1094, united.
 Vp so downe, 67/1427, upside down. þai be turned *up-swa-downe*.
P. C. 7230.
 Vth, 164/736, } youth.
 Vthe, 161/636, }
 Vtward, 49/783, outward.
 Vtylyte, 10/339, utility.
 Vade, 35/315, fade.
 All as a slope, and like the grasse
 Whose bewty sone doth *vade*. *H.*
 Venge, 141/1421, avenge; Fr. *venger*.
 Tell you the dauphin, I am coming on,
 To *venge* me as I may, and to put forth
 My rightful hand in a well-hallow'd cause.
King H. V., i. 2.
 Veray, 33/218, very.
 Vytayl, 74/195, } victuals, food.
 Vytel, 74/188, }

- Weddur, 90/752, weather.
- Welthys, 88/685, wealthiest.
- Wordly, 7/213, worldly. Cp.
Wor[l]dly matters, *Utopia*, p. 15,
 and *Wordleliche* þinges in *Ayenbite*
of Invyt, p. 164.
- Wornyth, 76/256, wasteth,
 weareth. *For-weornian*, to grow
 old, wear away. *Weran*, to wear.
Bosworth.
- Worstyd-makys, 95/914, worsted
 makers.
- Wy, 38/391, why.
- Wyle, a wyle, 203/229, awhile.
- Wyt, 92/816, whit, "neuer a
 whit," none at all.
- Wytyng, 66/1393, knowing.
- Witandly thurgh þair knawyng.
P. C. 5727.
- Wyttys, 26/911, intellects,
 minds; wits. He 3af him *wittes*
 fyue. *C. L.* 138.
- Wurs, 186/263, worse.
- Y, 70/79, I.
- Ych, 56/1052, each.
- Ye, 48/757, eye.
- Yes, 48/777, eyes.
- Yere, 48/757, ear.
- Yerys, 48/777, ears.
- Yl, 38/415, ill.
- Yle, 88/694, isle.
- Yssue, 16/533, issue.

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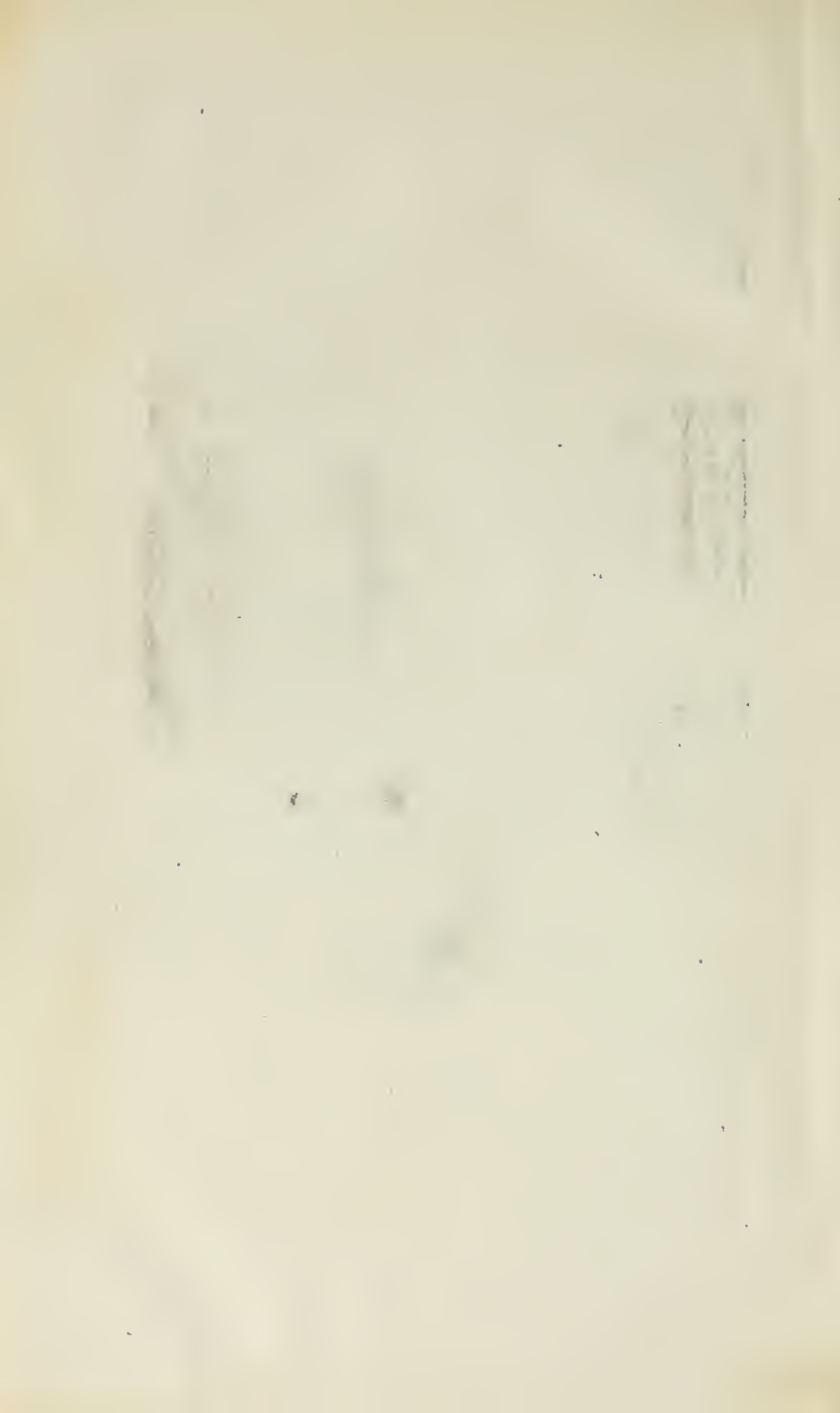
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